THE

RELIGION OF THE CRESCENT.

NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS.

THE
RELIGION OF THE CRESCENT,

OR

ISLÂM: ITS STRENGTH, ITS WEAKNESS, ITS ORIGIN, ITS INFLUENCE.

BEING THE JAMES LONG LECTURES ON MUḤAMMADANISM FOR THE YEARS 1891—1892.

. . . . τὸ δ' εὐτυχεῖν,
τόδ' ἐν βροτοῖς θεός τε καὶ θεοῦ πλέον.
ῥοπὴ δ' ἐπισκοπεῖ Δίκας
ταχεῖα τοὺς μὲν ἐν φάει,
τὰ δ' ἐν μεταιχμίῳ σκότου
μένει χρονίζοντας ἄχη.

AESCHYLUS, *Choeph.* 60–64.

BY THE

REV. W. ST. CLAIR-TISDALL, M.A.,

Secretary of the C.M.S. Mission, Julfâ, Iṣfahân, Persia.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE TRACT COMMITTEE.

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
LONDON: NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, W.C.;
43, QUEEN VICTORIA STREET, E.C.
NEW YORK: E. & J. B. YOUNG & CO.
1895.

In Memoriam

PATRIS CARISSIMI,

NUPER IN PATRIAM VERAM

VOCATI.

PREFACE.

THE appearance of these Lectures is easily explained. On my return to England on furlough towards the end of 1890, the Trustees of the James Long Lectureship Fund did me the honour to invite me to deliver a course of Lectures on the subject of the Religion of the Muḥammadans. The James Long Lectureship was founded some years ago with the object of endeavouring to spread among the people of England reliable information with reference to the nature and teachings of the main non-Christian religions of the world, and also regarding the methods adopted by and the measure of success vouchsafed to Christian Missions among the adherents of such faiths. The Trustees endeavour to secure the delivery of lectures on Hindûism, Buddhism and Muḥammadanism by competent Lecturers, whose acquaintance with their respective subjects is not only literary and theoretical but practical also. They did me the honour to think me fitted for the James

Long Lectureship on Muḥammadanism during my furlough. The Lectures contained in the present volume are the result of my attempt to discharge the pleasing duty thus imposed upon me. I trust they may meet with as favourable a reception in this form as when delivered orally during 1891 and 1892 in many parts of England.

I may be permitted to point out the limits within which I have attempted to confine myself in dealing with the very extensive subject of Muḥammadanism. To do so is necessary in order to anticipate possible misunderstanding. The sub-title of the work shows its scope. I have taken four points and four points only, and endeavoured to deal with them as fully and accurately as space permitted. The four aspects of Islâm dealt with in this volume are (1) its Strength, (2) its Weakness, (3) its Origin, and (4) its Influence. It will be seen therefore that it did not lie within my province to dwell at any length upon the biography of Muḥammad, the psychological problems presented by his character, the history of the spread of Islâm, the number of Muḥammadan sects and their various tenets, the vast subject of Muslim mysticism and its origin, its connexion with Hindû Pantheism and Gnosticism, and many other very interesting subjects connected with the religion. When compelled to deal with

any of these matters, I have done so as briefly as possible consistently with clearness. Though I have more than once referred to Neo-Muḥammadanism, if I may so style the new Muslim (so-called) school of thought now coming into prominence in India, yet I have been conscious that my limits forbade any full treatment of that subject, more especially so because those who adhere to it are Muḥammadans only in name, and are not recognised as Muslims by orthodox followers of the 'Prophet.'

It may be well to point out that in speaking of the *strength* of Islâm I do not mean its *power*. The difference between these two words will be clearly seen if in the sentence, "Their strength is to sit still," we substitute one word for the other. Islâm was spread almost entirely by the cogent argument of the sword in the past. It is to some degree supported by the same means still, but that this is not even the main reason why Muslims cling to their faith is clear from the fact that in India, where the sword no longer upholds it, the faith still preserves no inconsiderable amount of vitality.

The reader may notice that I have once or twice in different Lectures recurred to divisions of the subject with which I had previously dealt elsewhere. This was rendered necessary by the fact

that these are not merely chapters in a book, but real lectures actually delivered. I trust I have not to any extent been guilty of tautology, however.

Whatever I have said under any of the heads treated of in these Lectures has been drawn from Oriental authorities at first hand, and also in part from my own personal knowledge of Muslims of various lands and from conversations held with them during my work as a Missionary. I have fully acknowledged in every case in the notes my obligations to any English or German writers to whom I am at all indebted.

In a few instances it will be noticed that I have ventured in my notes to have recourse to a dead language in order in some degree to veil a few peculiarities of Muḥammadanism, which I felt ought not to be treated of in plain English, and to entirely omit or conceal which (as has generally been done hitherto) would be dishonest, and would be inconsistent with my purpose to give, as far as in me lay, a fair and impartial view of the Religion of the 'Prophet' of Arabia. One of the great difficulties which beset any attempt to represent to English people at all correctly any non-Christian religion is that such religions for the most part contain so many things that are *unmentionable.* To omit all the worst points and to exaggerate the

merits of all the good ones may procure a writer the credit of being "extremely liberal" in his views, but can hardly be said to be quite a fair way of dealing either with the subject itself or with one's readers.

I trust that these Lectures, in spite of their manifold imperfections and shortcomings, may be found useful to those who are anxious to understand Orthodox Islâm, and still more that they may be instrumental in impressing upon Christians in general the terrible responsibility which they will incur if they any longer neglect the duty of preaching to the followers of Muḥammad the unsearchable riches of Christ.

W. S. C. T.

JULFÂ, IṢFAHÂN, PERSIA,
March, 1894.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

LECTURE I.—THE STRENGTH OF ISLÂM.

LECTURE II.—THE WEAKNESS OF ISLÂM.

LECTURE III.—THE ORIGIN OF ISLÂM.

LECTURE IV.—THE INFLUENCE OF ISLÂM: ISLÂM AND CHRISTIANITY.

APPENDIX A.

APPENDIX B.

APPENDIX C.

LECTURE I.

THE STRENGTH OF ISLÂM.

قُولُوا آمَنَّا بِاللّٰهِ وَمَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْنَا وَمَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَى إِبْرٰهِيمَ وَإِسْمٰعِيلَ
وَإِسْحٰقَ وَيَعْقُوبَ وَالْأَسْبَاطِ وَمَا أُوتِيَ مُوسَى وَعِيسَى وَمَا أُوتِيَ
النَّبِيُّونَ مِنْ رَبِّهِمْ لَا نُفَرِّقُ بَيْنَ أَحَدٍ مِنْهُمْ وَنَحْنُ لَهُ مُسْلِمُونَ .

(Qur'ân, Sûrah ii., v. 130.)

"Natura inest mentibus nostris insatiabilis quaedam cupiditas veri visendi."—CICERO, *Tuscc. Dispp.* i. 19.

THE

RELIGION OF THE CRESCENT.

LECTURE I.

THE STRENGTH OF ISLÂM.

Extent of Islâm.

§ 1. ISLÂM is to-day the religion of about one hundred and fifty millions [1] of our fellow-creatures. Its sway extends from the Pillars of Hercules to the Caspian Sea, from the Pamir Steppes to Zanzibar, from the Balkans to Sumatra. It is the faith of Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Turkey in Europe, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Persia, Afghânistân, Bilôchistân, of the vast regions of Turkistân and other parts of Central Asia. In India alone its professors number more than fifty-seven [2] millions. It is the religion of the Malay Peninsula, and is said to be still extending in the Malay Archipelago. In Yun-nan [3] and

[1] The numbers are differently reckoned by different authorities, some estimating them as 173,000,000.

[2] The Indian Census of 1891 gives the Muslim population of India (including Further India) as 57,365,000.

[3] See some interesting statements on the subject in vol. i. of the Report of Conference on Christian Missions, London, 1888, pp. 15-30.

other parts of China its devotees may be numbered by tens of thousands. It is the religion of Egypt and of the whole of the Sûdân, and its professors may be found not only in Zanzibar but as far inland as the Lake Victoria Nyanza, in Buganda and the neighbouring countries. We find it again in the Niger Basin, in the regions of Haüsa and Sokoto, and it is by no means unknown or void of power at Sierra Leone. The Tawâriks and other fierce tribes of the Sahara profess their belief in Muḥammad, and the Arabian prophet is acknowledged by sovereigns and people alike throughout Tripoli, Tunis, and Morocco, and by the natives of Algiers.

To what extent this faith is still being spread[1] in Africa it is difficult precisely to ascertain, but it is already the dominant religion of fully one half of the entire continent, and is still spreading there to a very considerable extent, principally though not exclusively by the persuasive power of the sword. The mighty billows of the ocean of Arabian faith and zeal swept over the Strait of Gibraltar in days

Still Spreading.

Its Past.

[1] The question of the spread of Islâm in our own day is a far more serious one than most people think. For example, the Madras Census Report for 1881 (vol. i. § 151) estimates the increase of Muslims in the Malabar Collectorate alone during the ten years 1871-1881 as about 50,000, drawn from the lowest ranks of the Non-Aryan population (*v.* George Milne Rae's article "The Last of the Perumals," in "Madras Christian College Magazine" for Nov. 1890 (vol. viii., No. 5, p. 340). *Vide* also Bosworth Smith, "Mohammed and Mohammedanism," 2nd Ed., pp. 27-40.

of yore, and hurled themselves far beyond the adamantine barrier of the Pyrenees, striking terror into all but the stoutest hearts that beat beneath the breastplates of the warriors of the Franks. The valour of John Sobiesky and his Poles was needed to check the hitherto irresistible advance of the Turkish armies as they rushed forward in their victorious career over the plains of Austria.

Its Present.

And although the sword of Islâm[1] is broken to-day and its political power is fading away, yet as a religion it shows little tendency to surrender its claims to the sovereignty of the human race. The Muslim boasts that the Crescent gleams and the cry of the Muezzin is heard even in London[2] and Liverpool. The classic land of Greece has

[1] The word means "self-surrender," and is the name given by Muḥammad himself to the religion which he proclaimed: *vide* e.g. Sûrah iii. 17: عند الله
الاسلام.

[2] The idea that Muḥammadan worship is practised in London is founded upon what people in the East have heard of Dr. Leitner's Institute at Woking (!) with its attached Mosque. Whether any one worships there at all or not is not known.* *Omne ignotum pro magnifico.* As for the so-called Mosque at Liverpool, the report of Dr. H. Martin Clark's visit of inspection, and of his interview with Mr. Quilliam, the President of the Muḥammadan Association there, shows that the movement is a *fiasco.* (*Vide* verbatim report in the Panjâb Mission News for Jan., Feb., and March 1892, and also Sir Wm. Muir's article on the subject in the C. M. S. "Intelligencer" for June, 1892.)

but lately shaken off the yoke of Muḥammad's followers, while the prayers he prescribed and the creed he taught still resound on the very site of the Temple of Solomon. The language of the Ishmaelites, before which almost every other Semitic tongue has vanished, is in use throughout the vast area above mentioned in the ceremonial devotions of the people, and almost the whole of the voluminous literature of that and of the Persian, the Turkish, the Urdû, and the Afghān languages celebrates the praises of the "Seal of the Prophets,"[1] the "Messenger of God."

It cannot be devoid of interest to us therefore to investigate the main tenets of this mighty religious system and seek to discover the secret of the influence it has wielded in the past and even now exercises over the minds of so many of our fellow men in many lands and many climes.

Secret of its Strength.

§ 2. The secret of the might of Islâm lies in the proportion of truth which it inculcates. The mind of Man in all ages seeks to discover for itself or learn from a higher source the solution of the great mysteries of our existence, and busies itself with inquiries into the meaning and object of life, while at the same time striving to pierce the dark veil which hangs over the grave, and to find some lingering ray of heavenly light to gild the gloomy shadows of the tomb. Nature within and

[1] Two of Muḥammad's many titles—in Arabic خَاتَمُ ٱلْأَنْبِيَاءِ and رَسُولُ ٱللّٰهِ.

around us testifies to the being and the power of God, while our intellect utterly fails by seeking to find out the Almighty unto perfection. Our consciences testify to our responsibility to Him for our actions, while the world around us seems to have for us no voice of comfort when in penitence we seek the way of pardon. Yet at the same time Man is engrossed with the cares and pleasures of life, and has no inclination—for the most part—to concern himself with mysteries[1] which seem to him impenetrable.

If then a religion be found which promises to answer the most pressing questions in a clear and practical manner, which professes to come from God and to reveal God and the way of salvation, which promises an eternity of bliss to its adherents and offers to them as an earnest thereof the good things of this lower world, and which is (to the mind of ordinary men) devoid of any manifest absurdity,—such a faith will have much to recommend it to most men. And this attractiveness will be still further increased if the religion which thus demands their adherence is accompanied by the pomp of war, the glories of victory, and supported by the irresistible logic of the sword. Such is the case with the religion of Muḥammad. We are not at present concerned with the method of the propagation of that faith, but there can be no doubt

Not now treating of *past* spread of Islâm.

[1] Οὕτως ἀταλαίπωρος τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑτοῖμα μᾶλλον τρέπονται. (Thucydides, i. 20.)

that one main reason why so many still hold it as their comfort in life and their hope in death is because their consciences and intellects assure them that some at least of its main tenets are true. The same may be said of all religions to a greater or less extent. Falsehood unmixed with the smallest modicum of truth seems unable to maintain itself in this world, and those faiths show the most vitality and energy in which the proportion of truth is greatest.

The Christian, as a follower of Him who is *the Truth*, is bound to seek truth wherever he can find it, and to remember that "Every[1] good gift and every perfect boon is from above, coming down from the Father of Lights." The True Light still to some degree "lighteth every[2] man coming into the world." And in dealing with all systems of religion, and especially those to which we are opposed, it will be our highest wisdom carefully to distinguish the truths which may exist in them from the falsehoods with which they are commingled or overlaid, and strive to cleanse the jewel from the mire into which it has fallen. If instead of doing this we vainly endeavour to overthrow the whole structure because the Enemy of Souls has entrenched himself therein, we are measuring our puny strength against the adamantine bases of the

[1] Πᾶσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ καὶ πᾶν δώρημα τέλειον ἄνωθέν ἐστι, καταβαῖνον ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν Φώτων. (James i. 17.)

[2] Ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινὸν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον. (John i. 9.)

world, and our efforts can avail only to strengthen that which we would assail.

Truths contained in Islâm.

Islâm contains many noble truths mingled with much that is erroneous. Its strength lies in these truths, its weakness in its false doctrines and its imperfect moral system. Some of the main truths inculcated by Muḥammad it is now our duty to discover, leaving until another opportunity the consideration of the sources[1] from which the religion is derived.

Unity of God.

§ 3. The first doctrine with which we deal is that of the Unity of God. This is taught in the *Kalimah* or creed of the Muslims, which, as Gibbon remarks,[2] "consists of an eternal truth and a necessary fiction,"—"*Lā ilāha illā 'llāhu, Muḥammadun Rasūlu' llāhi,*"—"There is no God but God: Muḥammad is the Apostle of God."[3] Later theories with regard to the "*Light*[4] of

[1] *Vide* Lecture III.

[2] "Decline and Fall," vol. ix., cap. l.

[3] لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللّٰهِ . Both parts of this *Kalimah* are virtually contained in the Qur'ân, the former in Sûrah iii. 55, and the latter in Sûrah xxxiii. 40. *Vide* also "Mishkâtu'l Maṣâbîḥ," Bk. I., sect. i.

[4] E.g. in "Qiṣaṣu'l Anbiyâ," *initio*, پیغمبر گفت اول چیزی که بیافرید (الله) نورِ من بود ; Koelle, "Mohammed and Mohammedanism," pp. 247, sqq.: "Rusûm-i-Hind," cap. v., sect. i.: اهلِ اسلام کی کتابون مین لکها هے که خالقِ حقیقی نے تمام موجودات سے پہلے حضرت محمد صلعم هی کا نور پیدا کیا اور وهی ساری مخلوقات کے پیدا هونے کا باعث هین . The *nûr* or *light* of Muḥammad denotes his

Muḥammad" and the eternity of the Qur'ân[1] may seem to us in some degree contradictory to this doctrine, but there can be no doubt that it lies at the very basis of the whole Muḥammadan faith.[2] A tradition current among Muslims represents their whole *kalimah*, as having been inscribed by the command of God Most High upon the base of the Celestial Throne[3] before the creation of the world: and another[4] tells us that Muḥammad himself taught his followers that out of all the verses in the whole Qur'ân the greatest in value and importance is that which says "GOD, there is no God but He, the Living, the Enduring" (Sûrah iii., v. 1). The Unity of GOD is proclaimed in every Sûrah or chapter of the Qur'ân, and that with no uncer-

original *essence*, said to have been created from the Divine light. Hughes, "Dict. of Islam."

[1] Stobart's "Islâm," p. 99, and note: Osborn, "Islâm under the Khalîfs of Baghdâd," pp. 255, 256.

[2] E.g. "Mishkât," Bk. I., sect. i.: عن ابى هُرَيْرَةَ قال - قال رسول آللّه صلعم الايمان بضع وسبعون شُعْبَةً فافضلها قول لا اله الّا اللّه .

[3] See e.g. "Qiṣaṣu'l Anbiyâ," *initio*, پس فرمان آمد قلم را که بر ساق عرش بنویس لا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ آللّه .

[4] Mishkât, "Book on the Virtues of the Qur'ân": عن ابى بن كعب قال قال رسول الله صلعم - يا ابا منذر اتدرى اىّ آية من كتاب الله تعالى معك أَعْظم . . . . قلتُ - الله لا اله الّا هو الحى القيّوم - قال فضرب فى صدرى فقال ليهنك العلم يا ابا المنذر - رواه مسلم .

tain sound. The Chapter of Simplicity or Purity of Essence (Sûrah CXII.), revealed at Mecca in Muḥammad's early days as a prophet, and which pious Muslims assert on his authority to be equal in value to one-third of the whole Book, very clearly states the Muḥammadan conception of the Divine Unity and its abhorrence of Polytheistic ideas, in these terms:—"Say[1] thou, He is GOD alone, GOD the eternal: He begat not, nor was He begotten; nor hath He any equal."

Muḥammad once wavered in asserting this.

True, one Tradition[2] represents the Prophet as deviating on one occasion from his otherwise unswerving assertion of this cardinal doctrine by

[1] Sûratu'l Ikhlâṣ: قُلْ هُوَ ٱللَّهُ أَحَدٌ ٱللَّهُ ٱلصَّمَدُ لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُولَدْ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ.

[2] Related by Ibn Isḥâq, Muḥammad's earliest biographer, whose work has come down to us, and confirmed by Ibn Hishâm, "Ṣîraṭ," vol. i., pp. 127, sqq. (Arabic edit.), and many other Muḥammadan historians, as Aṯ Ṯabarî (Târîkh) and other writers of authority, though fiercely denied by Al Ghazzâlî, Baihaqî, and others. In the *Mawâḥib Alluduniyah* several versions of the story are given, among others the following: (*a*) قدم نفر من مهاجرة الحبشة حين قراه عليه السّلام والنجم اذا هوى حتى بلغ – افرئيتم اللات والعزى ومناة الثالثة الاخرى – القى الشيطان فى منيته اى فى تلاوته – تلك الغرانيق العلى وان شفاعتهنّ لترتجى – فلمّا ختم السورة سجد صلعم وسجد معه المشركون لتوهّمهم انّه ذكر آلهتهم بخير – وفشى ذلك بالنّاس واظهره الشيطان حتى بلغ ارض الحبشة ومن بها من المسلمين

acknowledging in the presence of his opponents that three of their goddesses were worthy of honour and would intercede effectually with GOD. On that occasion, deserted by almost all his followers (whom he had sent to take refuge in Abyssinia), and almost despairing of success in his mission, Muḥammad went to pray in the Ka'abah, the great national sanctuary at Mecca. There, when repeating the Chapter of the Star (Sûrah LIII.), when he had recited vv. 19 and 20, "Have ye not then seen Al-lât and Al-'Uzza' and Manât the other the third?" he added—at the instigation of Satan, as the Muslims confess,—the words, "These are the exalted beauties, and verily their intercession may indeed be hoped for." But hardly had the Meccans accepted the admission when Muḥammad

عثمان ابن مظعون واصحابه وتحدّثوا ان اهل مكّة قد اسلموا كلّهم وصلّوا معه صلعم وقد امن المسلمون بمكّة فاقبلوا سراعاً من الحبشة . (b) وكذا نبه على ثبوت اصلها شيخ الاسلام الحافظ ابو الفضل العسقلانى فقال اخرج ابن ابى حاتم والطبرى وابن المنذر من طرق عن شعبة عن ابى بشر عن سعيد بن جبير قال ـ قرأ رسول الله صلعم بمكّة والنجم ـ فلمّا بلغ افرأيتم اللات والعزّى ومناة الثالثة الاخرى القى الشيطان على لسانه ـ تلك الغرانيق العلى وان شفاعتهنّ لترتجى فقال المشركون ما ذكر آلهتنا بخير قبل اليوم فسجد وسجدوا فنزلت هذه الآية وما ارسلنا من قبلك من رسول ولا نبى الّا اذا تمنّى القى الشيطان فى امنيته الآية .

declared that he had been misled, and instead of these words of compromise he substituted those now found in that Sûrah, "Have ye male (issue) and hath He (*i.e.* God) female?[1] That indeed were an unfair division. They are nought but names which ye and your fathers have named."[2]

A.D. 616.

Soon after Khadîjah's death the leaders of the Quraish came to Abû Ṭâlib, Muḥammad's uncle and protector, and induced him to invite Muḥammad to a friendly meeting with them in order to come to an agreement. When they met and suggested that he should tolerate their continuing their ancestral worship on the condition of their not interfering with his religious teaching, Muḥammad bravely and firmly declared that he would be satisfied only on condition of their repeating the words *Lâ ilâha illâ 'llâhu*, &c. ("There is no God but God") and putting away whatever else they worshipped.[3]

Qur'ânic assertions of Unity.

From that time Muḥammad never wavered in his firm adherence to his faith in the Unity of God.

[1] It was regarded as a misfortune and a possible source of disgrace among the Arabs to have daughters.

[2] Sûratu'n-Najm (liii.), 21, 22, 23: أَلَكُمُ ٱلذَّكَرُ وَلَهُ ٱلْأُنْثَى - تِلْكَ إِذًا قِسْمَةٌ ضِيزَى - إِنْ هِيَ إِلَّا أَسْمَاءٌ سَمَّيْتُمُوهَا أَنْتُمْ وَآبَاؤُكُمْ. In a later Sûrah (xviii. 75, 76) Muḥammad confessed the danger he was at that time in of making a compromise with his opponents.

[3] Ibn Hishâm, "Ṣîraṭ," vol. i., pp. 145, 146 (Arabic edit.).

Many of the verses in which this truth is stated are very grand. For instance in Sûrah XX., vv. 4—7, we read: "The Merciful One [1] is firmly seated upon the Throne (*or* above the Highest Heaven). To Him belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth and whatever is between them both and whatever is under the soil. And if thou speakest aloud with (thy) voice, then indeed He knoweth the secret and what is most hidden. GOD, there is no God but He, to Him belong the most excellent names."

Verse of the Throne.

The "Verse of the Throne," as it is called, in the second Sûrah runs as follows: "GOD,[2] there is no God but He, the Living, the Eternal. Slumber seizeth Him not, nor sleep. To Him belongeth whatever there is in the heavens and what is in the earth. Who is it that intercedeth with Him except by His permission? He knoweth what was

[1] اَلرَّحْمٰنُ عَلَى ٱلْعَرْشِ ٱسْتَوَى - لَهُ مَا فِى ٱلسَّمٰوَاتِ وَمَا فِى ٱلْأَرْضِ وَمَا بَيْنَهُمَا وَمَا تَحْتَ ٱلثَّرَى - وَإِنْ تَجْهَرْ بِالْقَوْلِ فَإِنَّهُ يَعْلَمُ ٱلسِّرَّ وَأَخْفَى - ٱللّٰهُ لَا إِلٰهَ إِلَّا هُوَ لَهُ ٱلْأَسْمَا ٱلْحُسْنَى.

[2] Sûrah ii. 256: ٱللّٰهُ لَا إِلٰهَ إِلَّا هُوَ ٱلْحَىُّ ٱلْقَيُّومُ لَا تَأْخُذُهُ سِنَةٌ وَلَا نَوْمٌ لَهُ مَا فِى ٱلسَّمٰوَاتِ وَمَا فِى ٱلْأَرْضِ مَنْ ذَا ٱلَّذِى يَشْفَعُ عِنْدَهُ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِهِ يَعْلَمُ مَا بَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَمَا خَلْفَهُمْ وَلَا يُحِيطُونَ بِشَىْءٍ مِنْ عِلْمِهِ إِلَّا بِمَا شَآءَ وَسِعَ كُرْسِيُّهُ ٱلسَّمٰوَاتِ وَٱلْأَرْضَ وَلَا يَؤُدُهُ حِفْظُهُمَا وَهُوَ ٱلْعَلِىُّ ٱلْعَظِيمُ.

before them and what will be after them, nor shall they comprehend any portion of His knowledge, except what He hath willed. His throne encompasseth the heavens and the earth, nor doth the guardianship of them both burden Him. And He is the Exalted, the Mighty One."

First Sûrah. The first Sûrah, which is called *Sûratu fâtiḥatu'l Kitāb* ("the chapter which opens the Book"), occupies among Muslims almost the same position that the Lord's Prayer does with us, being by them repeated frequently in their devotions. It runs thus:—"Praise [1] be to God, the Lord of the worlds, the Merciful, the Gracious, Lord of the Day of Judgment. Thee we adore and Thee we ask for aid. Guide us in the right way, the way of those to whom Thou art gracious, not that of those with whom Thou art angry, nor of those who go astray." The Attributes of God are acknowledged by assigning to Him ninety-nine Names [2] or Titles, among which some of the

Names of God.

[1] ٱلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ رَبِّ ٱلْعَالَمِينَ – ٱلرَّحْمٰنِ ٱلرَّحِيمِ – مَالِكِ يَوْمِ ٱلدِّينِ – إِيَّاكَ نَعْبُدُ وَإِيَّاكَ نَسْتَعِينُ – اِهْدِنَا ٱلصِّرَاطَ ٱلْمُسْتَقِيمَ – صِرَاطَ ٱلَّذِينَ أَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ غَيْرِ ٱلْمَغْضُوبِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا ٱلضَّالِّينَ .

[2] See *Mishkâtu'l Maṣâbîḥ*, Book on the Names of God, sects. i. and ii.: عن ابى هريرة قال - قال رسول الله صلعم انّ لله تعالى تسعة وتسعين اسمًا مايةً الا واحدا – من احصاها دخل الجنّة etc. – هو الله الّذى لا اله الّاهو الرحمان الرحيم

principal are:—The Merciful, the Gracious, the Master, the Holy, the Faithful, the Creator, the Pardoner, the Wrathful, the Provider of Daily bread, the All-Wise, He that raiseth up and bringeth down, He that hearkeneth, the Beholder, the Just, the Kind, the Great, the Exalted, the Guardian, the Glorious, the Lover, the Witness, the Truth, the Inspirer, the Living, the Eternal, the Vivifier, the Slayer, the One, the Almighty; the First, the Last, the Pure, the Avenger, the Light, the Guide, the Patient One.

الملك القدّوس السّلام المومن المهيمن العزيز الجبّار المتكبّر
الخالق البارى المصوّر الغفّار الوهّاب الرزّاق الفتّاح العليم
القابض الباسط الخافض الرافع المعزّ المذلّ السميع البصير
الحاكم العادل اللطيف الخبير الحليم العظيم الغفور الشكور
العلىّ الكبير الحفيظ المقيت الحسيب الجليل الكريم
الرّقيب المجيب الواسع الحكيم الودود المجيد الباعث
الشّهيد الحقّ الوكيل القوىّ المتين الولىّ الحميد المحصىّ
المبدئ المعيد المحى المميت الحىّ القيّوم الواجد الماجد
الواحد الاحد الصّمد القادر المقتدر المقدّم المؤخّر الاوّل الآخر
الظاهر الباطن الوالى البرّ التوّاب المنتقم العفوّ الرّوف مالك
الملك ذو الجلال والاكرام المقسط الجامع الغنى المغنى المانع
الضّار النّافع النّور الهادى البديع الباقى الوارث الرّشيد الصّبور.

This is given on the authority of Tirmidhî and Baihaqî, though Tirmidhî calls it a *rare* (غريب) tradition. The list sometimes varies.

Al Ghazzâlî on Divine Nature.

A great Muḥammadan authority, Al Ghazzâlî,[1] speaks thus of GOD. "He is One, who hath no partner; singular, having no like,...He is ancient, having no first; eternal, having no beginning; remaining for ever, having no end....He, praised be His name, is Living, Powerful, Mighty, Omnipotent,...who neither slumbers nor sleeps, nor is obnoxious to decay or death. To Him belongs the kingdom and the power and the might. His is the dominion and the excellency, and the creation and the command thereof. And the heavens are folded up in His right hand, and all creatures are couched within His grasp . . . . He knows all things that can be understood, and comprehends whatsoever passes, from the extremities of the earth to the highest heavens; so that an ant's weight should not escape Him either in earth or heaven, but He would know the creeping of the black ant in the dark night upon the hard stone."

Muḥammad's opposition to Polytheism.

§ 4. Muḥammad from the beginning of his claim to the prophetic office showed himself to be irreconcilably opposed to polytheism in whatever form, and to be the bitter enemy of all idol-worship. And if ever iconoclasm was needed in the world, it was needed then. Not to speak of the shameful

[1] Al Ghazzâlî upon the Kalimah, quoted by Ockley, "Hist. of the Saracens." Muḥammad's conception of the Divine Nature seems to have been much less exalted and more material, but Al Ghazzâlî's expresses the present Muḥammadan creed far better.

spectacle[1] which the Christian Church in almost every part of the world then presented in this respect,[2] the ancestral Temple at Mecca contained 360 idols,[3] one for every day of the Lunar year.

Arabic Idolatry.

Besides these the planets and other heavenly bodies were *worshipped, and almost every Arab tribe had contributed its own local deity to help to fill the building*[4] *which, though still retaining its ancient appellation of "The House of God" (Baitu'llāh),* had become a pantheon *in which* even "Christian" idols were adored. When he cap-

[1] Haurî ("Der Islam in seiner Einfluss," &c.), ch. ii., well says:—"Wir verkennen auch keineswegs dass Mohammeds Lehre von Gott eine Reaction war gegen die in die christliche Kirche eingedrungene Vielgötterei. Die starke Betonung der Einheit Gottes hat entschieden seiner Lehre grosse Kraft gegeben, und stets wird die Thatsache, dass einst eine neue Religion sich der christlichen gegenüber mit ungeheurem Erfolg als die Vertreterin des Monotheismus ausgeben konnte, für die Kirche eine Warnung sein, sich vor polytheistischen Abwegung zu hüten."

[2] *Vide* Isaac Taylor's "Ancient Christianity," vol. i., p. 266.

[3] Stobart's "Islâm and its Founder," pp. 32, 33. Koelle, "Moḥammed and Mohammedanism," p. 17, sqq.

[4] The Ka'abah at Mecca. In reference to its antiquity there are many very strange tales. The Muslims assert that Abraham and Ishmael built it, but that a similar building had existed there in Adam's time. Diodorus, mentions a Temple there revered by all the Arabs in his time. *Vide* Sayyid Ahmad, "Essay on History of the Holy Mecca," Koelle, *ut supra*, also Ibn Hishâm and Ṭabarî: also (for absurdities on the subject) "Arâishu't Tîjân," "Qiṣaṣu'l Anbiyâ" (*s. Adam*): also the "Dabistân-i-Maẕâhib."

tured Mecca in 630 A.D. after his victory over the Quraish, Muḥammad is said to have entered the Ka'abah and entirely demolished[1] every one of these idols and even obliterated every picture which it contained. From that time to the present *every true Muslim is animated by the same hatred of idolatry, and in many countries this has led to the shedding of oceans of human blood.*[2]

Muslim hatred of Idolatry.

Although great faith is placed in the efficacy of charms, talismans and the like, and great reverence —almost if not quite amounting to worship—is paid to deceased saints,[3] and to holy places, yet the worship of idols has never been able to gain an entrance into the religion of the Musalmâns. Their Monotheism is far from being all that could be desired; their conceptions of GOD (as we shall see in a later lecture[4]) are faulty and defective in many respects: yet their firm faith in the Unity of GOD and the profession of this grand truth in the very fore-front of their *kalimah* has given the Religion of Islâm a strength and a power which has never been owned by any other non-Christian

[1] Koelle, *ut supra*, p. 203: Ibn Isḥâq.

[2] Wheeler, "Hist. of India;" Firishta, "Tarîkh," &c.

[3] *Vide* Haurî, "Der Islam," pp. 110, sqq. My own personal experience in India, with which that of others in almost every Muḥammadan country agrees, enables me to affirm that the worship paid to deceased saints is one of the main features of *practical* Muḥammadanism, as distinguished from the religion as it exists in theory.

[4] *Vide* Lecture II.

creed. The Muslim believes, as no heathen does, that the distinction between the Creator and His creation is absolute. No system of *cosmogony*, strictly so called, commends itself to him in the very slightest degree, but he holds as firmly as a Christian can do the great truth "He that built all things is God."[1] The Qur'ân represents God as saying, "And[2] We created the heavens and the earth and what is between them in six days, nor did any weariness touch Us." The Traditions represent Muḥammad as saying, "God[3] Most High made the seven days of the week. On Sunday He created the Porters of the highest heaven, on Monday[4] the seven storeys of heaven, on Tuesday He constructed the seven storeys of the earth, on Wednesday He made darkness, on Thursday He created the produce of

God the Creator.

[1] Heb. iii. 4.

[2] Sûrah l. 37: وَلَقَدْ خَلَقْنَا ٱلسَّمَوَاتِ وَٱلْأَرْضَ وَمَا بَيْنَهُمَا فِى سِتَّةِ أَيَّامٍ وَمَا مَسَّنَا مِنْ لُغُوبٍ.

[3] "Qiṣaṣu'l Anbiyâ," p. 6., Persian edition. But in the Arabic edition of the book, *'Arâisu't Tîjân*, ch. iii., we have it thus:—"Muḥammad said, 'On Saturday God created the earth, the mountains on Sunday, the trees on Monday, darkness on Tuesday, light on Wednesday, animals on Thursday, Adam on Friday.'" With this agrees *Mishkât*, Bk. XXIV., ch. i., § 3, adding that all unpleasant things also were made on Tuesday, and Adam was created after the hour of afternoon prayer on Friday.

[4] *Ḥamalatu'l 'Arsh.* Al Baghâwî, says that these are eight angels of the highest rank.

the earth and all that is in it, and on Friday He made the sun and the moon and the stars, and caused the seven celestial spheres to revolve. And in six days He created the whole world." One day, however, of that upper-world is said to be equal to one thousand years of this, for the Qur'ân says, "And[1] indeed one day with thy Lord is as a thousand years as ye reckon." And as He is the Creator and Ruler of the universe, so must the spirits of all men return[2] to give an account to Him of the works done in the body and to be judged by Him at the last day.

The Judge.

Man's relation to God.

§ 5. There is a great deal of truth in what the Muhammadan Religion teaches with reference to Man's relations to God. Man as a creature is absolutely dependent upon his Creator in everything. His first duty is to believe in, worship and confess his Lord and Maker, and that too precisely in the way which God has laid down for his guidance. He must submit himself to His will and pleasure and be perfectly resigned to Him in everything, submitting himself humbly as a slave to his master.

Submission.

The celebrated Muhammadan theologian Al

[1] Sûrah xxii. 46: وَإِنَّ يَوْمًا عِنْدَ رَبِّكَ كَأَلْفِ سَنَةٍ مِمَّا تَعُدُّونَ .

[2] *Ibid.* lxxxviii. 25, 26: إِنَّ إِلَيْنَا إِيَابَهُمْ - ثُمَّ إِنَّ عَلَيْنَا حِسَابَهُمْ .

Ghazzâlî has defined Islâm as "Submission[1] and resignation in subjection and obedience, the renunciation of objecting and disobedience"; while other orthodox writers compare the pious man's attitude towards GOD to that of a corpse[2] in the hands of the washers of the dead. "Man[3] has no refuge from his rebellion against Him but only His help and His mercy, nor hath man any power to perform any duty towards Him but through His love and will." The Muḥammadan doctors sometimes treat of their religion under two heads, *viz.* Belief (*Îmân*) and Practical Observance (*Dîn*). It is related in the Mishkâtu'l Maṣâbîḥ[4] on the authority of 'Umr bin al Khaṭṭâb that one day, when he and some others were conversing with Muḥammad, the angel Gabriel appeared to them in the disguise of a very tall and strong man clothed in white, who for their information and instruction said to the "Prophet," "O Muḥammad, tell me about Islâm." Muḥammad replied, "Islâm is that thou bear witness that there is no God but GOD and that Muḥammad is the Apostle of God; and that thou offer prayer and pay thine alms and fast during the months of Ramadhân and perform the pilgrimage to the House[5] if thou art

Îmân and Dîn.

Essence of Islâm according to Muḥammad.

[1] A. von Kremer, "Geschichte der herrsch. Ideen," p. 234.
[2] Hauri, "Der Islam," p. 76.
[3] Al Ghazzâlî (quoted by Ockley).
[4] Book I., "On Faith" (Îmân), sect i.
[5] *I.e.* the Ka'abah or "House of God" (Baitu'llâh) at Mecca.

able for the journey." The angel continued, "I accept it as true, now tell me about Faith." Muḥammad said, "It is that thou believe in God and in His Angels, and in His Books, and in His Messengers, and in the Last Day, and that thou believe in Fate regarding good and evil." The angel rejoined, "I accept it as true, now tell me about well-doing." Muḥammad answered, "It is that thou serve GOD just as if thou didst see Him, even though thou seest Him not, for indeed He seeth thee." Ibn 'Umr states that Muḥammad said on another occasion, "Islâm[1] is founded upon five things: (1) the testifying that there is no God but God and that Muḥammad is His Servant and His Apostle; (2) the offering of prayer; (3) the payment of (the stated) alms (*zakāt*); (4) the Pilgrimage to Mecca; (5) and fasting during Ramadhân." An Urdū[2] writer says, "In the opinion of Muslims, Faith is the pivot upon which all kinds of good works turn, and the root of all acts of worship. And its great support is to believe in and trust with sincerity of heart to whatever things His Excellency Muḥammad stated. Moreover, the prevalence in the world of the injunctions of Islâm depends upon their confession with the tongue. Therefore in the opinion of Musalmâns, while, in order to be a true Believer, belief with the heart is necessary, yet at the same

Five Foundations of Islâm.

[1] Mishkât, Bk. i, p. 4 (Arabic edition).

[2] "Rusûm-i-Hind," Muḥammadan portion (Part II.), p. 261.

time its acknowledgment with the tongue is also required."

Divine Revelation

§ 6. The Muḥammadan religion not only acknowledges the possibility of a Divine Revelation being given to Mankind for their guidance and instruction, but asserts that without such a Revelation Man can know nothing of GOD and of His Will. The grand truth that GOD has given us a Revelation it maintains in opposition to the Materialistic and Rationalistic theories which, in our own day, are becoming extensively known in many parts of the East. Muḥammad held, as firmly as Job did in earlier ages and in the same country, that the intellect alone is unable to reveal GOD's Nature and the way of salvation, and all Muslims at the present time would most heartily assent to the Patriarch's words,

> " Canst thou by searching find out GOD?
> Canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection?
> It is high as heaven; what canst thou do?
> Deeper than Sheol; what canst thou know?"[1]

Prophets.

They hold that from the very beginning[2] GOD taught His servants by direct inspiration: that Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, as well as a multitude of other Prophets, were sent by Him as occasion required, some for all men and some for individual tribes, that they might guide

[1] Job xi. 7, 8.

[2] "Rusûm-i-Hind," Pt. II., ch. ii., p. 262: At Tabari, "Târikh," *initio*.

men to God and reveal His will. Belief in all that these Prophets taught is incumbent upon every Muslim, and whenever he mentions the name of any of them he adds the formula عليه السلام (*'alaihi 'ssalâm*) "Peace be upon him." This is in strict accord with the teaching of the Qur'ân itself, in which we find many passages like the following (Sûrah II., 130):—"Say[1] ye, 'We believe in God, and in what hath been sent down unto us, and in what hath been sent down unto Abraham, and Ishmael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the Tribes, and in what Moses was brought and Jesus, and in what the Prophets were brought from their Lord; we make no distinction between one of them (and another); and unto Him we are resigned.'" Their view of Inspiration, however, is a very mechanical one, since they hold that God revealed not merely the subject-matter but the very *words* recorded by the Prophets in the books which they are said to have caused to be written down from the Divine dictation communicated to them through the Archangel Gabriel. To express this the Muslims use the expression "God[2] *sent*

Mechanical Theory of Revelation.

[1] Sûrah ii. 130: قولوا ـ آمنا بالله وما أنزل الينا وما أنزل الى ابرهيم واسمعيل واسحق ويعقوب والأسباط وما أوتى موسى وعيسى وما أوتى النبيون من ربهم لا نفرق بين أحد منهم ونحن له مسلمون.

[2] Cf. Sûrah ii 93, 154; iv. 106; v. 48, &c. &c.

down" the books in question, or "the books *descended*"[1] from Him. The number of books which tradition relates as having "descended upon," or having been revealed to, the prophets is one hundred and four, out of which *ten* were entrusted to Adam, *fifty* to Seth, to Idrîs *thirty*, to Abraham *ten*, to Moses *one*, to David *one*, to Jesus *one*, and to Muḥammad[2] *one*.

Number of Inspired Books.

Muḥammadans are convinced that each and all of the Prophets bore witness to Muḥammad and believed in him. They say that when any one revelation became lost or corrupted a new message was sent down. The last of all the Prophets, according to them, is Muḥammad,[3] and the final and most perfect Revelation is that contained in the Qur'ân. They hold that it is incumbent upon all men therefore to accept their creed under penalty of eternal punishment in one

[1] Cf. Sûrah xxvi. 193; xlvi. 29, &c.

[2] "Rusûm-i-Hind," Pt. II., ch. ii., p. 262.

[3] Âminah, Muḥammad's mother, is related to have said that, among many other marvels at his birth, she heard a voice cry, "Go around all the world with Muḥammad and arrange before him all angels, genii, men and beasts. Give him Adam's form, Seth's science, Noah's bravery, the love God had towards Abraham, Ishmael's tongue, Isaac's prosperity, Ṣâliḥ's eloquence, Lot's wisdom, Jacob's joy at finding Joseph, Moses' strength, Job's patience, Jonah's submisssiveness, Joshua's skill in war, David's voice, Daniel's love for God, Elijah's nobleness, John's firmness, and Jesus' continence." Weil, "Mohammed der Prophet," pp. 23, 24 (notes).

or other of the seven [1] divisions of Hell. Although theoretically professing to believe in all that the earlier Prophets taught, the Muḥammadans say that such inspired books as still remain, that is the *Taurât* (Law), the *Zabûr* (Psalms) and the *Injîl* (Gospel), are to be interpreted by the Qur'ân and understood only by means of the explanation which this final Revelation gives of their teaching. Many of them assert that this is the reason why the title of the *Furqân* ("Distinction" or "means of distinguishing," *i.e.* between good and evil) is given to the Qur'ân,[2] entirely ignoring the fact that the same title is given to the Law of Moses also in the Qur'ân itself.[3]

Qur'ân and Bible.

Those who hold this view say that the Qur'ân enables them to distinguish the true meaning of the teaching of the Prophets from our erroneous [4] interpretations and explanations of it. The most learned and thoughtful Muslims in India at the present day adopt this opinion, in preference to the older and perhaps still more prevalent idea that

[1] Mishkât; Qiṣaṣu'l Anbiyâ, &c.

[2] E.g. in Sûrah iii. 2. (But Rabbi Geiger shows good reason to doubt whether *Furqân*, in the Qur'ân, has the meaning now given to it by Muslims.)

[3] Sûrah xxi. 49: وَلَقَدْ آتَيْنَا مُوسَىٰ وَهَٰرُونَ ٱلْفُرْقَانَ; and Sûrah ii. 50: وَإِذْ آتَيْنَا مُوسَىٰ ٱلْكِتَابَ وَٱلْفُرْقَانَ.

[4] This is the argument, e.g., in Mîzânu'l Mawâzîn, and is used also by Sayyid Aḥmad, "Essay on the Prophecies respecting Muḥammad."

the Holy Books of the Jews and of the Christians have been corrupted.[1] Muslims often say, however, that as (in their opinion) the *Taurât* was annulled [2] by the *Zabûr* and the latter by the *Injîl*, so the *Injîl* also in its turn was annulled and rendered obsolete by the "descent of the Qur'ân upon Muḥammad." I have often had all these different opinions to meet in conversation with Muslims in India.

The Qur'ân.

§ 7. Practically speaking therefore the Religion of Islâm rests upon the supposed revelation given by God to Muḥammad. This revelation, however, is said to be of [3] two kinds, technically termed *Waḥī Matlū* (وَحِى مَتْلُوٌ) or "Recited Revelation," and *Waḥī Ghair Matlū* (وَحِى غَيْرُ مَتْلُوٌ) or "Unrecited Revelation." The Qur'ân belongs to the former or higher class, being supposed to have been recited by the Prophet in the very words taught to him by God Himself through the instrumentality of Gabriel. Its authorship being Divine it is often termed "the Book of God," and the greatest possible reverence is shown it. The second kind of the revelation given to Muḥammad

Its Author.

The *Aḥâdith.*

[1] This argument is very well met in the Mîzânu'l Ḥaqq," by Dr. Pfander.

[2] *E.g.* Sa'dî, Bustân, near beginning. In July 1893 the Wâlî of Baghdâd forbade the sale of the Bible to Muslims on this plea.

[3] Sayyid Aḥmad, "Essay on the Holy Koran," pp. 3, 4; "Essay on Muḥammadan Traditions," pp. 1, sqq.

is known only through the "Traditions" of the "Prophet," which are technically termed *Aḥâdīth* (sing. *Ḥadîth* حديث often pronounced *Ḥadîs*) to distinguish them from the Tales about Muḥammad known as *Riwâyât* (روايات).

Many collections of these Traditions have been made by leading Muḥammadan theologians, the most[1] famous of which, and those which are acknowledged by the Sunnîs, are the six following:— the "*Muwaṭṭā*" of Mâlik ibn Anâs, the "*Ṣaḥîḥ*" of Al Bukhârî, the "*Ṣaḥîḥ*" of his friend Muslim, the "*Sunan*" of Abū Dāūd Sulaimân, the "*Jâmi'*" of Al Tirmidhî, and the "*Kitâbu's Sunan*" of Muḥammad ibn Yazîdi'l Kaṣimîr.[2] The authority of any genuine Tradition ranks next to that of the Qur'an itself, but a very great degree of uncertainty

[1] Osborn, "Islâm under the Khalifs of Baghdâd," p. 60, note.

[2] Sayyid Aḥmad ("Essay on the Muḥammadan Theological Literature," p. 5) says that the following Ḥadîth-writers are more entitled to credit than the rest:— (1) Bukhârî, (2) Muslim, (3) Tirmidhî, (4) Abû Dâûd, (5) Nasâî, (6) Ibn Mâjah, and (7) the Muwaṭṭâ of Imâm Mâlik. [Bukhârî was born A.D. 810 and died 870: Muslim born A.D. 819, died 875: Tirmidhî born A.D. 824, died 892: Abû Dâûd born A.D. 817, died 858: Nasâî born (?), died A.D. 915: Ibn Mâjah died A.D. 906: Mâlik born A.D. 713, died 795.] But in his "Essay on the Birth and Childhood of Muḥammad," p. 24, the same writer speaks of Muslim's and Bukhârî's works as "the most authentic and authoritative works upon Traditions," while classing "Tirmidhî and other less scrupulous authors" in a different category!

and difference of opinion exists among the various sects of Musalmâns with reference to the Traditions, which they accept or reject. A very large number of the Traditions are filled with absurdities, but from our present point of view they are interesting because the genuine ones are considered a form of revelation and are for that reason accepted. The inspiration of the Qur'ân is, of course, of a much higher order.

The Preserved Tablet.

The Muḥammadan theologians teach us that the whole Qur'ân, as dictated to Muḥammad by Gabriel, is a literal copy of what was written ages before the creation of the world by the Divine decree upon the Everlasting (or rather the *Preserved*) Tablet (لَوحٌ اَلْمَحْفُوظ)[1] in heaven. The purity of its Arabic and the eloquence and beauty of its language are regarded as proving its Divine authorship and as a perpetual miracle, sufficient to prove their "Prophet's" claim to be sent by GOD. They hold that the writers of the Law, the Psalms and the Gospel were inspired and given the ideas which GOD wished them to express in those books, but that the language in which they expressed the revealed teaching was their own mother tongue, and being human was necessarily imperfect. Arabic, however, being the language of Heaven, the Qur'ân is a miracle[2] as well as a

[1] Sûrah lxxxv. 21, 22: بَلْ هُوَ قُرْآنٌ مَجِيدٌ فِي لَوْحٍ مَحْفُوظٍ

[2] Even Sayyid Aḥmad accepts this theory: *vide* his

revelation, and is perfect in style as well as in doctrine. There are, of course, many absurdities involved in all this, but we see this deep truth underlying it all, that GOD does in a miraculous manner reveal His will to Mankind by Revelations communicated through inspired prophets.

Creation of Man.

§ 8. With regard to the Creation of Man[1] the Muḥammadan belief is that Adam[2] was created in Paradise[3] or "the Garden," which they locate in Heaven, but that GOD sent an angel to obtain from the ground a handful or a few handfuls of earth, from which Adam's body was then made. When the spirit entered into this body, GOD commanded all the Angels to worship Adam. All obeyed except Iblîs, who was thereupon condemned to hell fire, and became known as Sheiṭân (Satan), his former name as an angel having been 'Azâzîl. Eve was created from Adam's rib, and when they ate the forbidden fruit—which many authorities hold to have been *wheat*—they were hurled forth from the heavenly Paradise and fell to the earth. Adam fell in Ceylon and Eve at Jiddah, the port

Satan.

"Fall" of Adam and Eve.

"Essay on the Holy Koran," pp. 35, sqq. (*Vide* also Sale's "Preliminary Discourse," sect. iii.)

[1] *Vide* Sûrahs ii. 29-35; iii. 30, 52; v. 30; vii. 10, 18, 25-33, 171; xvii. 63, 72; xviii. 48; xix. 59; xx. 114-119; xxxvi. 60.

[2] "Qiṣaṣu'l Anbiyâ"; "'Arâisu't Tîjân"; and Weil, "Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner," pp. 12, sqq.

[3] Other accounts say he was created on the earth (at Mecca) and immediately taken up to Paradise.

of Mecca. "When[1] Adam fell in Ceylon, he kept on weeping and wailing and lamenting for his offence for 200 years (or, according to another account, for 300 years) so that from his tears rivers began to flow, and on their banks there grew dates and cloves and nutmeg-trees.

"From Eve's tears were produced *henna* and collyrium and indigo. Every one of their tears which fell into the sea became a pearl, and these her daughters take as their heritage." Gabriel, by GOD's command, directed Adam to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, where, on the mount, thence called 'Arafat, he met and recognized Eve. Although Adam's offence was serious enough to cause his expulsion from Paradise, yet the Muḥammadans call it not a *sin* but merely an *error* (زِلَّةٌ), holding as they do that all the Prophets are sinless. The doctrine of Original Sin accordingly finds no place in their theology, although they hold that all men are descended from Adam and Eve.

Adam did not *sin*.

Angels.

§ 9. The Muslims believe in the existence of a great multitude[2] of Angels. They were all created

[1] "Qiṣaṣu'l Anbiyà"; Qiṣṣat-i Ḥaẓrat-i Âdam, p. 19 (Persian edition).

[2] "'Abdullah bin 'Abbâs says that God Most High created a light in the midst of each heaven, and from that light He made *innumerable* angels," "Qiṣaṣu'l Anbiya," Persian edition, p. 6. And in speaking of the 'Night Journey,' Thâbit represents Muḥammad as saying of Gabriel: وصعد بى الى السماء السابعة فاذا بابرٰهيم مسنداً ظهره الى البيت المعمور واذا هو يدخله كل يوم سبعون الف ملك لا يعودون .

by GOD ages before the creation of the world, and were made out of fire, whence the superiority of their nature to that of Man, who partakes of the nature of the earth whence he was created. They are, however, capable of falling into[1] sin. They are appointed to various offices and are of different ranks. GOD uses many of them as His messengers to Mankind. The Muslims, on the authority of one of their Traditions, assert that there is not a particle of matter in the universe which is not guarded by an angel specially appointed for the purpose. "There is[2] a hierarchy of angels. In the highest rank are those nearest to GOD. These are the four[3] supporters of His Throne, and they receive the homage of the others. On the Day of Judgment four other angels will be added to these, because in the Qur'ân it is written[4] that on that occasion *eight* angels will sustain the throne of GOD. After these come the angel named *Rûḥ* (spirit), thus named because every breath he breathes creates a soul; *Isrâfîl*, the messenger of GOD, whose office it is to conduct souls to the

Their number.

Heavenly Hierarchy.

[1] As Hârût and Mârût did (Sûrah ii. 96): cf. also Sûrah xxiv. 31.

[2] Osborn, "Islâm under the Khalîfs of Baghdâd," p. 64, *Ibid.*

[3] *Ḥamilatu'l 'Arsh.* The Muḥammadan idea that four angels surround God's throne is taken from the Jewish book *Zohar*, in which their number is given as four; their names as given in that book are Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, and Uriel (R. Bechái).

[4] Sûrah lxix. 17.

bodies appointed to receive them; *Jibraîl* (Gabriel), the guardian and communicator of GOD's revelation; *Mîkâîl* (Michael), who conveys to souls and bodies their daily nourishment, spiritual and material; *'Azraîl*, whose feet stand on the foundations of the earth, while his head reaches to the highest heaven; his office is to conduct souls, after death, to their everlasting habitation, whether in hell or in Paradise. In addition to these are the Cherubim (*Karûbiyyûn*), occupied exclusively in chanting the praises of GOD; the two *Secretaries*, who record the actions of men, each in a distinct writing; the *Observers*, who spy out the least gestures and hear every word of men; the *Travellers*, who traverse the whole earth in order to know when men utter the name of GOD and pray to Him; *Hârût* [1] and *Mârût*, who, having offended GOD, are confined in a well near Babylon until the Day of Judgment; the angels of the seven planets; the guardian angels appointed to keep watch over men; and the two angels of the grave," *Munkir* and *Nakîr*. Over hell an angel reigns who is called *Mâlik*, probably the Molech of the Old Testament; and under his authority there are nineteen [2] other angels appointed to aid him in maintaining authority there. These, according to Tradition,[3] are preserved from being injured by the flames through having the Divine Seal impressed

Prince of Hell.

[1] Sûrah ii. 96. [2] Sûrah lxxiv. 30.

[3] "Qiṣaṣu'l Anbiyâ," Pers. ed., p. 71.

upon their forehead, the inscription on the Seal of GOD being the Muḥammadan Creed, "There is no God but GOD; Muḥammad is the Apostle of GOD."

Importance of Prayer.

§ 10. One of the most noteworthy points in the Muḥammadan Religion is the importance which they attach to *Prayer*.[1] GOD is described by them, in accordance with the Qur'ân, as hearing and answering the prayers of His worshippers. They regard it as impossible for anyone to be saved who does not pray, and consider the man who wilfully neglects this duty as an out-and-out infidel.[2] We have already seen that prayer is insisted on as one of the Five Points or Five Foundations of Islâm. Muḥammad himself showed the importance of prayer by calling it the "key of Paradise" and the "pillar of religion." So in Sûrah LXXIII. Muḥammad is addressed as follows: "O thou that art wrapped up,[3] arise during the night except

[1] A. von Kremer, "Culturgeschichte des Orients," vol. ii., pp. 30 sqq.: Qur'ân, ubique: *Mishkâtu'l Maṣâbîḥ*, Book on *Ṣa'ât* (Prayer).

[2] Mishkât, Book on Prayer, cap. iii.: عن عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص عن النبى صلعم انه ذكر الصلوة يومًا فقال ـ من حافظ عليها كانت له نورًا وبرهانًا ونجاةً يوم القيامة ومن لم يحافظ عليها لم تكن له نورًا ولا برهانًا ولا نجاة وكان يوم القيامة مع قارون وفرعون وهامان وابى بن خلف ـ رواه احمد والدارمى والبيهقى فى شعب الايمان .

[3] Commentators say that when this Sûrah was revealed Muḥammad was wrapped up, either asleep or at prayers. (Penrice, Dict. of Koran, *s. voce* زمل).

a small part of it, during half of it, or take from it a little, or add to it, and repeat the Qur'ân with distinct enunciation. . . . Verily the early[1] part of the night is stronger for treading down (evil thoughts) and more suitable for distinct pronunciation. Verily thou hast long-continued business during the day. And mention the name of thy Lord, and separate thyself unto Him with seclusion. The Lord of the East and of the West, there is no God but He, therefore take thou Him for a guardian."[2]

Prayer a Duty, not a Privilege.

Again and again in the Qur'ân is repeated the command to pray. It is true that the Muslim is taught that prayer is a *duty* rather than a *privilege*, and that in this and other respects the view which Muḥammad took of prayer was very defective. This we shall have to point out more fully when we come to consider the defects of Islâm as a religious system. But the very fact that every true Muslim recognises—and is by his creed obliged to recognise—the obligation and to some extent the

[1] Penrice suggests the version I have adopted in this Sûrah.

[2] Sûrah lxiii., 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9: يَا أَيُّهَا ٱلْمُزَّمِّلُ - قُمِ
ٱللَّيْلَ إِلَّا قَلِيلًا - نِصْفَهُ أَوِ ٱنْقُصْ مِنْهُ قَلِيلًا - أَوْ زِدْ عَلَيْهِ وَرَتِّلِ
ٱلْقُرْآنَ تَرْتِيلًا - . . . . إِنَّ نَاشِئَةَ ٱللَّيْلِ هِيَ أَشَدُّ وَطْأً وَأَقْوَمُ قِيلًا -
إِنَّ لَكَ فِي ٱلنَّهَارِ سَبْحًا طَوِيلًا - وَٱذْكُرِ ٱسْمَ رَبِّكَ وَتَبَتَّلْ إِلَيْهِ
تَبْتِيلًا - رَبُّ ٱلْمَشْرِقِ وَٱلْمَغْرِبِ لَا إِلٰهَ إِلَّا هُوَ فَٱتَّخِذْهُ وَكِيلًا.

value of prayer, is a matter for[1] which we should be very thankful.

Cry of the Muezzin

Five times a day there sounds forth from the minarets of the Mosque the solemn call to prayer in these[2] words: "*Allāhu akbar!*" "God is most great," repeated four times in a loud tone of voice. Then in a lower tone the Muezzin says, repeating each clause separately twice, "I bear witness that there is no God but GOD, I bear witness that Muḥammad is the Apostle of God." Then raising his voice once more he again recites these two clauses twice over, and then proceeding in the

[1] An English officer who had for some time served in Egypt said to me that one thing that struck him very much when there was the difference in this respect between the Egyptian and the English soldier. "The Muḥammadan," he said, "five times a day repeated his prayer, wherever he might be, caring not who saw him, while as a rule the English soldier never thought of doing anything of the kind."

[2] Mishkât, p. 55: الله اكبر الله اكبر الله اكبر الله اكبر (ترفع بها صوتك ثمّ تقول ــ) اشهد ان لا لِلّه الا الله اشهد ان لا اله الّا الله اشهد ان محمداً رسول الله اَشهد ان محمداً رسول الله (تخْفِضُ بها صوتك ــ ثمّ ترفع صوتك بالشهادة) اشهد ان لا الله الّا الله اشهد ان لا اله الا الله اشهد ان محمداً رسول الله اشهد ان محمداً رسول الله حى على الصلوة حى على الصّلوة حى على الفلاح حى على الفلاح (فإن كان صلوة الصّبح قلت) الصلوة خير من النوم الصلوة خير من النوم ــ اللّه اكبر الله اكبر لا اله الّا الله .

same tone he cries, "Come to prayer, come to prayer! come to the Refuge, come to the[1] Refuge! God is most great, God is most great! There is no God but GOD!" In the morning call to prayer, before the two last *takbîrs* or celebrations of the greatness of GOD, there is added twice over the declaration, "Prayer is better than sleep." The five times of prayer[2] observed by the Muḥammadans are: (1) In the morning before sunrise; (2) at noon; (3) before the sun sets; (4) during the twilight after sunset; (5) when night has commenced.

Five times of Prayer.

At these specified times[3] the Muslim, wherever he may be, in the street, in his own house, in a mosque, spreads on the ground his *sajjâdah* or "prayer-carpet," turns his face towards Mecca, his *qiblah*, and recites the set form of prayer in Arabic, the language of Paradise. At the conclusion of this prescribed form, with its many prostrations and

[1] That is, 'to God'; but some render 'to good works.'

[2] In the time fixed for each prayer a slight variation is allowed. Tradition (recorded by Abû Dâûd and At-Tirmidhî on the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs) relates that Muḥammad said that Gabriel prayed with him and taught him the proper hours of worship (*Mishkât*, Bâbu'l Mawâqît, sect. ii., p. 51).

[3] Two other times of prayer are observed daily by very pious persons, but they are not obligatory. These are the *Ishrâf* at sunrise and the *Tahajjud* late at night. There are, moreover, special seasons for devotion, as during the Feasts, &c.

genuflexions, the worshipper is permitted [1] to ask GOD, in his own language and in words chosen by himself, for anything he needs. But the formal and prescribed prayers must always be in Arabic, just as Latin is used for a similar purpose in the public worship of the Roman Catholics. In neither instance is it deemed necessary to the efficacy of the petition that the worshipper should be able to understand it himself. Prayer in a mosque is much more efficacious than if offered elsewhere, because there the [2] angels pray with and for the worshipper. Fāṭimah, the "Prophet's" great-granddaughter, relates on the authority of her grandmother his daughter, who bore the same name, that whenever Muḥammad entered the Mosque he [3] used to pray, "O my Lord, forgive me my offences and open to me the gates of Thy mercy," and on leaving the building he would say, "O my Lord, forgive me my offences and open to me the gates of Thy [4] grace."

Muḥammad's Prayers.

[1] Stobart, "Islâm," p. 118.

[2] *Mishkât*, Bâbu'l Masâjid, sect. i. p. 60.

[3] *Mishkât*, *ibid.*, sect. ii. p. 62: عن فاطمة بنت الحسين عن جدتها فاطمة البكرى قالت كان النبي صلعم اذا دخل المسجد صلى على محمد وسلم وقال رَبِّ اغفر لى ذنوبى وافتح لى ابواب رحمتك واذا خرج صلّى على محمّد وسلّم وقال رَبِّ اغفر لى ذنوبى وافتح لى ابواب فضلك ـ رواه الترمذه واحمر وابن ماجه .

[4] Yet most orthodox Muḥammadans think it almost

Children's Prayers.

The "Prophet," following the practice of the Jews,[1] commanded that children should be directed to offer the appointed prayers at the age of seven[2] years, and that they should be beaten for not performing this duty when they reached the age of ten. The guardian angels carry to GOD the report of the prayers of His worshippers, for Muḥammad said,[3] "By night and by day angels succeed one another (in keeping guard) among you, and they assemble at the early morning and the afternoon prayers. Then those who spent the night among you ascend, and their Lord (who knoweth everything about them) asketh them, 'How did ye leave My servants?' Then they say, 'We left them praying, and we came to them when they were praying.'"

Public Worship.

§ 11. Public prayers when offered in a mosque are conducted by an Imâm (*antistes*) or "Leader," who turns his face towards the *Miḥrâb* or niche in the wall which shows the exact direction in which Mecca with its Holy Ka'abah stands. Behind him,

blasphemous to say that Muḥammad ever sinned, deeming him and all the prophets sinless. Some, however, argue that they are sinless because, if they committed sin, it was forgiven them!

[1] Edersheim, "Jewish Social Life," pp. 105, 106.

[2] *Mishkât*, Kitâbu'ṣ Ṣalât, sect. ii. p. 50: قال رسول الله صلعم – مروا اولادكم بالصلوة وهم ابناء سبع سنين واضربوهم عليها وهم ابناء عشر سنين .

[3] *Mishkât*; Bâb Fadhâilu'ṣ Ṣalât, sect. i. p. 54.

rank after rank, are drawn up the "Faithful," each standing on his own slab of stone or spot marked out for the worshipper, separated from every one else by a space sufficient to enable him to prostrate himself at the proper times. Before each man is spread his prayer-carpet, his shoes he has carefully removed in the porch before entering the hallowed precincts. He has also performed the ceremonial ablution of hands and face at the small pond placed for that purpose just at the entrance to the Court of Prayer. The whole body of the worshippers now stand, awaiting the signal. When it is given, following every motion of their Imâm they bow, prostrate themselves, touch the earth with their foreheads, stand upright, and again prostrate themselves, repeating the Arabic prayers at each *Rak'ah* (رَكْعَة) or prostration just as their Imâm does—all keeping most perfect order, and the whole congregation go through the prescribed ceremonial with the most impressive solemnity, though with all the exactitude of a well-disciplined regiment.

The scene presented by row after row of these white-robed and finely-turbaned figures, grave, earnest, and apparently devout, repeating in the grand Arabic tongue prayers which may well recall, in spirit as well as in sound, those which we can imagine Ishmael, if not Abraham, uttering in by-gone days to the Lord God of Shem,[1] is most

[1] Prof. Grau well observes: "Es ist doch der Gott Sems,

impressive. The court where the worshippers assemble is—at least in India—in most cases unroofed and open to the sky, only the upper part, where the *minbar* (مِنْبَر) or preacher's chair (or pulpit) stands being covered over. The noble simplicity and the absence of tawdry adornment, pictures and sculptured images, harmonises well with the scene and adds not a little to its charm. What Lane [1] says with special reference to the Muḥammadans in Egypt may well be asserted of them almost everywhere, "The utmost solemnity and decorum are observed in the public worship of the Muslims. . . . Never are they guilty of an irregular word or action during their prayers—they appear wholly absorbed in the adoration of their Creator." Nor does it become any of us too hastily and uncharitably to judge whether this seeming devotion is or is not heartfelt. May we not rather find comfort in the thought that [2] GOD is no respecter of persons; but that in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is acceptable to Him?

welcher Himmel und Erde geschaffen hat, von welchem der Islam Zeugniss ablegt; und wir verstehen in seinen Gebeten die Sprache der Seele, welche ihren Schöpfer sucht, wenn wir den Rufer zum Gebet, den Mueddin vom Minaret hören: *Allahu akbar!*" ("Ursprünge und Ziele unserer Kulturentwickelung," p. 139.)

[1] "Modern Egyptians," vol. i. p. 120.

[2] Ἐπ᾽ ἀληθείας καταλαμβάνομαι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι προσωπολήπτης ὁ Θεός· ἀλλ᾽ ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει ὁ φοβούμενος αὐτὸν καὶ ἐργαζόμενος δικαιοσύνην, δεκτὸς αὐτῷ ἐστι. (Acts x. 34, 35.)

§ 12. The last grand truth of Islâm with which I purpose to deal is their belief in the After-Life. They hold that every man is responsible to his Creator for his conduct and belief in this world, and must render an account to Him in the Day[1] of Judgment. Even as soon as he is buried he undergoes a trial—or at least an examination regarding his faith—at the hands of the two angels, Munkir and Nakîr,[2] who visit him in the grave. But when the Resurrection Day shall come—a day the very mention of one of the many[3] names of which sends a thrill of terror through the heart of every Muslim—then the angel Isrâfîl, who now stands with his trumpet to his lips awaiting the signal, will sound the last[4] trump. Then the dead shall rise from their graves to be judged. The CI. Sûrah[5] says:—

The After-Life.

The Last Trump. Resurrection.

[1] See the Qur'ân *passim*, esp. Sûras 101, 88, 70, 75, &c., and *Mishkât*, Kitâbu'l Ḥashr.

[2] "Rusûm-i Hind," p. 263, *Mishkât*.

[3] It is called السَّاعَةُ , يَوْمُ ٱلْحَشْرِ , الْغَاشِيَةُ , الْقَارِعَةُ , يَوْمُ ٱلْقِيَامَةِ , يَوْمُ ٱلدِّينِ , &c.

[4] *Mishkât, ut supra*, p. 473, sqq.

[5] Sûrah ci.: (1) ٱلْقَارِعَةُ مَا ٱلْقَارِعَةُ (2) وَمَا أَدْرَاكَ مَا ٱلْقَارِعَةُ (3) يَوْمَ يَكُونُ ٱلنَّاسُ كَٱلْفَرَاشِ ٱلْمَبْثُوثِ (4) وَتَكُونُ ٱلْجِبَالُ كَٱلْعِهْنِ ٱلْمَنْفُوشِ (5) فَأَمَّا مَنْ ثَقُلَتْ مَوَازِينُهُ فَهُوَ فِى عِيشَةٍ رَاضِيَةٍ (6) وَأَمَّا مَنْ خَفَّتْ مَوَازِينُهُ فَأُمُّهُ هَاوِيَةٌ (7) وَمَا أَدْرَاكَ مَا هِيَهْ (8) نَارٌ حَامِيَةٌ .

"The Day of Judgment, what is the Day of Judgment?
And what can make thee know what is the Day of Judgment?
A day when men shall be like moths scattered abroad:
And the mountains shall be like parti-coloured carded wool.
Then he whose scales are heavy shall be in a happy life:
But he whose scales are light,—his mother (*i.e.* dwelling) is lowest hell.
And what can make thee know what that is?—
Burning fire."

So also in Sûrah LXXXII.:—

"When the sky shall be cleft asunder,
And when the stars shall be scattered,
And when the seas shall be made flow together,
And when the graves shall be rent,
The soul shall know what it hath done first and last.
O Man, what hath seduced thee from thy gracious Lord,
Who created thee and then perfected and made thee rightly disposed?"[1]

Sûrah LXXXI. is too long to quote, but it gives even a more striking description of the great and terrible day of the Lord, telling how in that day:—

"When the sun shall be folded up . . . .
And the Books shall be unrolled . . . .
And when Hell shall be kindled,
And when Paradise shall be brought near,
The soul[2] shall know what it hath put forward."

Ṣirâṭ.

After the Resurrection every one has to cross the Bridge[3] *Ṣirâṭ* (الصّراط), which is finer than a hair

[1] Sûrah lxxxii. 1-7.
[2] Sûrah lxxxi. 1, 10, 12, 13, 14.
[3] Sûrah xxiii. 76; xxxvi. 66.

and sharper than a sword and is stretched right across the abyss of Hell. The righteous pass over with ease, and in an instant find themselves welcomed by the angels to share with them the delights of Paradise, where they dwell for ever in the enjoyment of carnal pleasures. Yet some more thoughtful and more pious Muslims try to spiritualise what the Qur'ân teaches on this subject, and hold that it is to be figuratively understood. Al Baidhâwî for instance says that the wine the just drink in Paradise is the wine of Purity, so called because its taste purifies the heart from the desire of all things but the yearning to see GOD Himself, and that the Divine[1] Vision is the highest and noblest of the delights of Paradise. It would not be fair to represent this as the common and the popular view, nor even as one that may possibly represent the teaching of the Qur'ân[2] on the subject: but it is most encouraging to find that *some* among the Muslims deem admission to the immediate Presence of GOD the chief thing required to make them eternally blessed. In the hearts of some of them at least—GOD alone knows how many or how few—there still echoes, half unconsciously,

Mystical explanation of Carnal Paradise.

[1] *Mishkâtu'l Maṣâbîḥ*, Kitâbu'l Fitan, Bâbu Ru'yatillâh, pp. 492 sqq.

[2] The passage of the Qur'ân which such commentators as those of whom we are speaking generally quote in support of their view, is Sûrah lxxv. 22, 23: وُجُوهٌ يَوْمَئِذٍ نَاضِرَةٌ اِلَى رَبِّهَا نَاظِرَةٌ .

the grand truth which his own soul had taught an Augustine in days of yore, "Fecisti[1] nos ad Te, et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in Te."

Hell.

Unable to cross the Bridge, the unrighteous fall down into the abyss of fire, where they undergo the most exquisite tortures. There are in Hell seven stages, the lowest of which is reserved for hypocrites, who, though with their lips professing to be Muslims and to believe in God and His "Prophet," yet wrought deeds of infidelity. The tortures of Hell and the happiness of Heaven are both alike eternal, but the Muslims believe[2] that every man who has as much as a grain of the true Faith in his heart, though he may for a time suffer in Hell the punishment of his sins, will yet, after receiving punishment, find an entrance into Paradise at last, there henceforth to dwell for ever and ever.

Conclusion.

§ 13. I have now endeavoured to detail for you, as fully as the limits of a lecture would permit, the main *truths* of Islâm. It would have been an easy task—it has been done before[3] now—to depict Islâm in glowing colours as a noble, spiritual, and almost God-given faith. Truth compels me to decline to make any such statement as this with regard to the Muḥammadan religion, just as it forbids me to deny the existence of anything noble and true in the "Prophet's" teach-

[1] Augustini, *Confess.* i. 1. [2] *Mishkât.*
[3] *E.g.*, in the works of E. Deutsch, Bosworth Smith, &c.

ing. I have, I confess, *as yet shown you only one side of the shield*. To imagine that Muḥammadanism, taken all in all, is as worthy of admiration as some of these tenets are, would be to judge of a thundercloud by the arch of Divine Promise shining amid its gloom, or of the fever-haunted Sunderbunds of Bengal by a glimpse of the snow-clad sublimity of the Himâlayas.

Only one side of the shield shown as yet.

There is much that is puerile, much that is ridiculous, much that is vile and loathsome in the teachings of Muḥammad. But *it is not these things that give that Religion its strength*, the enormous influence which it has for far more than a millennium exercised over the hearts and consciences of so many millions of our race. The secret of this is in the truths which it embodies. And although for a time these very truths are permitted to recommend to men's acceptance the terrible errors with which they are united in Islâm, yet may we not hope and trust,—yes, may we not labour too and pray—that the time will soon come when, through believing the great truths which Muḥammadanism has borrowed from a purer faith, many of the followers of the great False Prophet of Arabia may be led to seek Him from Whom all true Light proceeds, and, having for their guide the Light of the World, find His promise true,

"He[1] that followeth Me shall not walk in the darkness, but shall have the Light of Life."

[1] John viii. 12.

LECTURE II.

THE WEAKNESS OF ISLÂM.

"Facilis descensus Averni;
Noctes atque dies patet atra ianua Ditis:
Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor est."—VERGIL, *Aen.* vi. 126-129.

"Μοῦνοι θεοφιλέες, ὅσοισι ἐχθρὸν τὸ ἀδικέειν."
—DEMOCRITUS, *Fragm.*

LECTURE II.

THE WEAKNESS OF ISLÂM.

§ 1. "One strong thing I find here below," says Carlyle,[1] "the just thing, the true thing." "The cause[2] thou fightest for, so far as it is true, no further, yet precisely so far, is very sure of victory. The falsehood alone of it will be conquered, will be abolished, as it ought to be; but the truth of it is part of Nature's own laws, co-operates with the World's eternal tendencies, and cannot be conquered."

This testimony is true. But although it has come to be generally recognised at the present time that the sage in the Apocrypha was right in affirming "Magna[3] est veritas, et praevalebit," yet it often happens that the power of Truth is used to support Falsehood and gain credit for it for a time. The first lie ever uttered in this world was more

[1] "Past and Present," ch. ii.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[3] 1 Esdras iv. 35: Ἡ ἀλήθεια μεγάλη καὶ ἰσχυροτέρα παρὰ πάντα.

than half truth. "Ye[1] shall not surely die," said the Serpent: "for God doth know that *in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as*[2] God, *knowing good and evil.*" Truth commends itself to the human spirit, falsehood can make itself acceptable only in the disguise of truth. And it is never so successful[3] in doing this as when it is mixed with what is unquestionably true. In the end, no doubt, the deception will be detected, the false rejected, and the truth accepted, confessed and honoured. But this is often a very slow process; and meanwhile Falsehood does its work of destruction until revealed in its true character by its evil fruits. None but a fool or a madman knowingly takes poison into his system of his own free will: but how often is this done when the deadly drug is mixed with and concealed in food that would otherwise be healthy and

[1] Gen. iii. 4, 5: וַיֹּאמֶר הַנָּחָשׁ אֶל־הָאִשָּׁה לֹא־מוֹת תְּמֻתוּן׃ כִּי יֹדֵעַ אֱלֹהִים כִּי בְּיוֹם אֲכָלְכֶם מִמֶּנּוּ וְנִפְקְחוּ עֵינֵיכֶם וִהְיִיתֶם כֵּאלֹהִים יֹדְעֵי טוֹב וָרָע׃

[2] Onkilos explains כאלהים in this passage as "like great ones"; Jonathan ben Uzriel and the Jer. Targum as "among the great angels," Eben Ezra as "like the angels," Rashi as "devisers of secrets."

[3] "Falsehood is never so successful as when she baits her hook with truth; and no opinions so fatally mislead us as those that are not wholly wrong, as no watches so effectually deceive the wearers as those that are sometimes right." (Cotton.)

nourishing, but which is thus turned into a means of death. The Muḥammadan religion in this respect is strikingly like the dish set before the "Prophet" himself at Khaibar, of which he unsuspiciously partook, and only when too late, and when the poison was already at work in his system,[1] discovered that the food had been tampered with.

As in

The amount of truth which is included in the Religion of Islâm has, as we have already seen, commended it to the acceptance of vast multitudes of our fellow-creatures. The errors, superstitions and falsehoods with which these doctrines are mingled have deceived the followers of the "Arabiaṇ Prophet" to their ruin. The evil results which have followed are everywhere patent. We are confident that in the long run the truth must prevail,—that although the inhabitants of the vast regions now dominated by Muḥammadanism will ever be able to cling firmly to the great truth expressed in the first part of their creed—*Lā ilāha illā 'llāhu*, "There is no God but GOD,"—yet they must ultimately be enabled by the clear light of truth to reject the lie[2] with which

[1] Abû'l Fidâ, "Vita Muḥammed," p. 203. Weil, "Mohammed der Prophet," p. 187.

[2] Gibbon, vol. ix. cap. 50. Mr. Bosworth Smith does not believe that Muḥammad's claim was a false one, but believes he will yet be recognized as "a Prophet, a very Prophet of God." ("Mohammed and Mohammedanism," p. 344.)

they now conclude, "Muḥammad is the Apostle of God."

Islâm, we have seen, has as its strength the great truths which it inculcates. These have preserved it for ages. But we are certain that it will be proved, more clearly and fully than has yet been the case, that it has in it great sources of weakness which must ultimately result in its utter overthrow, though its final collapse may take ages[1] before it is accomplished. It is our duty in the present lecture to indicate very briefly a few at least of the elements of weakness in Islâm which prevent it from being, as it professes to be, "a guide[2] and a mercy" to men, and render it a false and antichristian creed.

Errors about Divine Nature.

§ 2. The first point in which the weakness and unsatisfactoriness of the doctrines of Islâm force themselves upon our attention is in the conception which an orthodox Muḥammadan is led to form of the Nature and Attributes of God. It is the glory of Islâm that it teaches that God alone should be worshipped, that it preaches Monotheism, and recognises God as Personal, Omniscient and Almighty, the Creator and the Preserver, the Master and the Judge of all creation. But of a God of infinite Holiness and of infinite Love, Muḥammad had no idea whatever. Among the

Master, not Father.

[1] Doubtless, however, this will not be the case, for Christian missions are *beginning*—we can hardly say more—among Muslims. See sect. iv., *conclus.*

[2] Sûra ii. 1, &c.

ninety-nine Titles or Names of GOD repeated by Muslims when they tell their beads, the name of *Father* does not occur. Not only so, but the very application of this term to GOD in any sense seems to the Muḥammadan mind to be the most utter blasphemy. "He is our Master," a pious Muslim would say, "and we are His[1] slaves. Far be it from Him—may He be praised and exalted—that He should have any children!" Muḥammad's conception[2] of GOD was an altogether Deistic one, and it is perhaps for this very reason that English Deists have felt so much sympathy with him. He taught his followers to regard GOD as absolutely separated from His creatures, so much so indeed that no inference can be drawn as to GOD's actions from considering what our ideas of holiness and justice[3] require. In the whole Qur'ân and in

[1] In Arabic the word عِبَادٌ, and in Persian and Urdû the words بندگان and بندے respectively, literally meaning *slaves, bondmen*, are constantly used to mean simply *men, mankind*. The Old and New Testaments also apply the word *slave* (עֶבֶד, δοῦλος) to God's servants; but the distinction between Christianity and Islâm in this matter is that Islâm denies the *sonship* of Man and the Divine Fatherhood, while Christianity teaches that man stands in *both* relations to God, and not *only* in that of a slave.

[2] Hauri, "Der Islâm," pp. 44 sqq.; Osborn, "Islam under the Khalifs of Baghdâd," Pref. p. vii, and chapter i. pp. 4, 5.

[3] Al Shahristânî says, *e.g.*, "Nor is His justice to be compared with the justice of men, because a man may be

the whole body of orthodox Muslim theology we do not find even the very slightest approach to an acceptance of the doctrine that, as far at least as concerns the human spirit and mind, God created Man in His own[1] image. Of any kinship between God and Man, of the very possibility of any genuine sympathy between the Creator and His creatures, Muḥammad had not the least idea. Tennyson[2] grandly sings :—

> "Speak to Him thou, for He hears, and spirit with spirit can meet :
> Closer is He than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet :"

but few orthodox Muslims would accept the teaching of the latter portion of the first line, though the Qur'ân, in accordance with the second, asserts that God "is[3] near to everything that hath a being; nay, nearer to men than their jugular veins." Except what has been revealed in the Qur'ân and through His prophets, Man cannot know anything whatever of God. His intentions

Agnosticism.

suspected of acting unjustly by invading the possession of another; but no injustice can be conceived of God, who can find nothing belonging to any other besides Himself." (Quoted by Ockley.)

[1] Gen. i. 27.

[2] "The Higher Pantheism."

[3] Sûrah l. 15: وَلَقَدْ خَلَقْنَا ٱلْإِنسَانَ وَنَعْلَمُ مَا تُوَسْوِسُ بِهِ نَفْسُهُ وَنَحْنُ أَقْرَبُ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ حَبْلِ ٱلْوَرِيدِ .

and his conscience cannot enable him to judge of any professed revelation. Nor can any inquiry into the constitution of the Universe enable Man to understand anything of the mind and will of its Maker.

Philosophers of old had taught men that the first thing to be done in searching for a knowledge of God was to learn to know[1] oneself. Such an idea would have seemed impious to Muḥammad, if it had occurred to him. Hence "there[2] is no creed the inner life of which has been so completely crushed under an inexorable weight of ritual. For that deep, impassable gulf which divides Man from God empties all religious acts of spiritual life and meaning, and reduces them to rites and ceremonies. They are laws to be obeyed. They do not imply that a way has been opened out between the visible and the invisible world." It is because of this extreme contrast between the human nature[3] and the Divine that the Qur'ân so frequently and in such eloquent terms celebrates the greatness of God's exaltation above all created

[1] "*Γνῶθι σεαυτόν.*" In Shî'ah traditions, however, it is said that 'Alî asserted مَنْ عَرَفَ نَفْسَهُ فَقَدْ عَرَفَ رَبَّهُ, i.e. "Whoever knows himself knows his Lord." But (1) this is contrary to "orthodox" Islâm, and (2) is explained away even by Shî'ahs: see, *e.g.*, the Persian work "Hidâyat u'ṭ-Ṭâlibîn fî Usûli'dîn."

[2] Osborn, *ut supra*, p. 4.

[3] Hauri, *ut supra*, p. 45.

existences. Muḥammad's descriptions[1] of God's Majesty and All-sufficiency are extremely striking.

Allâh defective in Holiness and Love.

"Far more feeble is what he is able to say regarding God's moral attributes. However much he discourses about His Righteousness, His Wrath against sin, His Grace and Mercy, yet" (according to Muḥammad) "Allâh is not holy Love, not the negation of all Self-seeking and Sensuality. Neither in Holiness nor in Love is He just. Towards the ungodly Love does not attain to its right; Allâh is quick and ready enough to punish them, to lead them astray and to harden their hearts; His Wrath is not free from passion. Towards Believers, that Holiness which can love nothing impure is defective. Allâh can permit His Prophet to do things that would otherwise be objectionable: to the rest of the Believers also He can allow what is not of itself good. . . . The commandments which God gives are not the expression of His Nature; they are arbitrary, and can therefore be retracted and replaced by others.

God a Despot.

"Thus the God of Muḥammad leaves upon us the impression of an arbitrary Oriental despot, who makes His enemies experience His wrath in a terrible manner and loads His faithful servants with benefits, besides winking at their misdeeds." Some writers have accused Muḥammad of taking very

[1] Yet even Pindar could say,—Ἓν ἀνδρῶν, ἓν θεῶν γένος· ἐκ μιᾶς δὲ πνέομεν Ματρὸς ἀμφότεροι· διείργει δὲ πᾶσα κεκριμένα Δύναμις, ὡς τὸ μὲν οὐδέν, ὁ δὲ χάλκεος ἀσφαλὲς αἰὲν ἕδος Μένει οὐρανός. (Pind. "Nem." vi. 1—4.)

Islâm not Anthropomorphic in Doctrine.

anthropomorphic[1] views of GOD, and there are passages both in the Qur'ân[2] itself and in the Traditions[3] which give occasion for such remarks. We know also from history that among Muslims[4] themselves there have been disputes upon this question.

Deification of *Power*.

But taking orthodox Islâm as it now exists, it is not too much to say that all such unworthy conceptions are entirely rejected by all true Muḥammadans. The one attribute of GOD which, in the mind of the Muslim of to-day, just as in that of His "Prophet" thirteen hundred years ago, towers above and seems almost to overshadow all others, is His Almighty *Power*. Islâm may with reason be called the Deification of Power, just as Hindûism is the creed which deifies the productive[5] and generative principles of Nature. "GOD is[6] mighty and wise," "GOD is able to do everything," are expressions which meet us at the conclusion of almost every verse in some portions of the Qur'ân.

[1] The Muḥammadan sect called Karâmians, or Mujassamians, held that this is the teaching of the Qur'ân.—Ash Shahristânî apud Pocock, Spec. Hist. Ar., pp. 225-228.

[2] As *e.g.* those in which His Throne, Face, Hands, &c &c., are mentioned.

[3] *Mishkât*, "Kitâbu'l Fitan, Bâbu'l Mi'râj," &c.: "Bâbu'r Ru'yah": also "Bâbu'l Masâjid wa Mawâdhi'iṣ Ṣalât," pp. 91, 92. See also Hauri, "Der Islam," p. 46.

[4] *Vide* Sale, "Prelim. Disc.," sect. viii.; Osborn, "Islâm under the Khalîfs," pp. 132, sqq.

[5] Barth, "The Religions of India."

[6] *E. g.*, Sûrah ii. 19, 27, 30, &c. &c.

This Power may be exercised in the most arbitrary[1] manner, and is unrestrained by any Law of Holi-

[1] As an example, take the following story, found among the Bilochîs (Rev. Arthur Lewis' "Bilochî Stories," pp. 22, 23) :—

"The prophet Moses was going one day to the court of God. In the way he met a man saying his prayers, who was very attentive to the service of God. There was another man who was careless, and did nothing. The man of prayer said, 'O Moses, the friend of God, you are going to the court of God. Speak to God and ask Him to take me to heaven. Give my message to God.' The other (idle) man said, 'Ask God if I am written in His account or not.' Then Moses, the Friend of God, went to the court of God. He told God this story, that one man who was very prayerful asked to be taken to heaven because he was troubled in the world, and that another (idle) fellow wished to know what would become of him. God said to Moses, 'You go and give this message. Tell that idle fellow that I will torment him in hell, and the other man that I will take him to heaven. I am at present engaged in work; I am causing one hundred camels with their loads to pass through the eye of a needle. When that shall be done, I will take him to heaven.'

"The prayerful man, when he heard this, said, 'Is God such a person as to cause one hundred camels with their loads to pass through the eye of a needle? How could there possibly be a way for them?' The other man, the idle one, said, 'Doubtless God will cause them to pass through; it is an easy thing for God to do.'

"Then Moses the Friend of God went home. Some time after Moses went again to the court of God. He sees the man of prayer tormented in hell, and the idle one sitting in the court of heaven. Then Moses sat down very troubled. God said, 'You are My friend; why are you troubled?' Moses answered, 'Lord, I am not troubled.' God again

ness or Justice[1] existent in the very Being of GOD. Hence it is that Muḥammadans entirely fail to see the moral obliquity of many of their "Prophet's" actions. If one mentions them they say, "Yes, if any one of *us* were to do such a thing it would be murder or adultery, but when *Muḥammad* the Chosen, the Apostle of GOD, did so, he did not thereby become either a murderer or an adulterer,[2]

GOD commands breaches of Moral Law.

asked, saying, 'I see you are troubled, tell me the cause.' Then he said, 'Lord, I am troubled because Thy actions are incomprehensible. That man who was so diligent in his prayers, is tormented in hell; that idle fellow is seated in heaven. This is the reason of my trouble.' God said, 'Do not be troubled. When you took My message, what answer did that man of prayer give? He answered, What kind of a person is God, that He can cause a hundred camels with their hundred loads to pass through the eye of a needle? He did not trust Me, therefore he is now tormented. The idle and careless man trusted Me, therefore he is come to heaven.'

"'The man of prayer lost his game through one word. The idle man won his by one word, because he trusted Me.'"

[1] Yet, without the Divine inspiration to which Muḥammad pretended, Euripides knew that

Εἰ θεοι τι δρῶσιν αἰσχρόν, οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοί.

(Frag. Belleroph. 300.)

[2] Mr. Bosworth Smith, "Mohammed and Mohammedanism," pp. 143-4, says that the Jewish Rabbis also held "that a prophet who was properly commissioned might supersede any law." But even so they assuredly did not hold that Prophets were above the *moral* law. Certainly the Old Testament is clear enough in its teaching on this point. It shows us that not even David or Solomon could transgress

for GOD *commanded him* to do so." The fact that it is a moral impossibility for GOD to sanction, much less to command, the commission of distinct breaches of the eternal Moral Law, is quite beyond their comprehension, and the enunciation of such a theory strikes them as blasphemous, because it contradicts, in their opinion, the doctrine of the Omnipotence of the Deity! "Two things," says Immanuel[1] Kant, "fill the mind with ever new and increasing wonder and awe, the more frequently and perseveringly reflection busies itself therewith,—the star-strewn Heaven above me, and the Moral Law within me." But so far are the Muslims from feeling the importance of the testimony which the human spirit bears to the character and being of its Creator, that neither in the Arabic itself nor in any other Muḥammadan language is there a word which *properly* expresses what we mean by *conscience*.[2]

the *moral* law with impunity. How far in this matter Islâm falls behind the morality of the Jews even in the times of the Kings, is well seen by comparing what the *Bible* says of David's adultery with Bathsheba, and what the *Qur'ân* says of that of Muḥammad with Zeinab. (Cf. 2 Sam. xi., xii. with Sûrah xxxiii. 37-40. Vide also Al Beidhâwî's commentary *in loco*.)

[1] "Zwei Dinge erfüllen das Gemuth mit immer neuer und zunehmender Bewunderung und Ehrfurcht, je öfter und anhaltender sich das Nachdenken damit beschäftige,—der bestirnte Himmel über mir, und das moralische Gesetz in mir."

[2] In Arabic and Persian we have to use ضمير (*the heart,*

Sin.

They believe that sin is a violation of the arbitrary commands of GOD; that what is wrong, because prohibited, in this world will be in many cases right in the next. For example, the drinking of wine is prohibited in the Qur'ân,[1] and is regarded as a great sin on earth, yet in Paradise one of the many carnal delights promised to "the faithful" is unlimited indulgence in this pleasure.[2] Again, there are some few indications that Muḥammad deemed a *very* great excess of unchastity a sin[3] on earth, but he nevertheless in the Qur'ân encouraged his followers to contend for their faith by promising them a practically unlimited indulgence in that vileness before the very Throne of GOD in heaven.[4]

Moral Obliquity of View.

How can people who represent GOD as not only not condemning such practices, but even *approving* of them so much as to *prepare* such pleasures for the perpetual enjoyment of His faithful servants in Paradise,—how can they possibly be said to believe in His Holiness, or to understand that He

the mind), but even this does not occur in the Qur'ân. In Urdû تمیز, *the judgment*, is generally used for the conscience.

[1] *E.g.*, Sûrah ii. 216 and v. 92.

[2] Sûrah xlvii. 16 and lvi. 18, &c.

[3] Fornication and adultery are forbidden in the Qur'ân, but Muḥammad's ideas as to what constituted these sins were very different from ours.

[4] See the passages quoted below regarding Paradise, and especially Sûrahs xlvii. 13, 16, 17; lv. 46-*fin.*; lvi. 11-39; &c.

is "of[1] purer eyes than to behold evil"? And how different is Muḥammad's conception of God in this respect from that held by the Patriarchs, and even by Abraham the Friend of[2] God, to whose religion Muḥammad professed to wish to recall[3] his fellow-countrymen! "The[4] very source and fountain-head of the religion of the Old Testament," as a German writer well says, "is the religious experience of the *Holiness* of God." Although it was not until Moses' time and the giving of the Law at Sinai that it was verbally commanded to the chosen People, "Be[5] ye holy, for I am holy," yet the very nature of the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob is Holiness,[6] as is evident from His recorded actions and laws. In His sternness and might, His irresistible decrees and His despotic acts, the Allâh of Islâm bears a

[1] Hab. i. 13.

[2] This title—in Arabic *Khalîlu'llâh*—is more frequently used by the Muslims with reference to Abraham than even by the Jews, and is justified by *e.g.* Sûrah iv. 124: وَٱتَّخَذَ

[3] Sûrah ii. 129; iii, 89, sqq.

[4] Grau, "Ursprünge," p. 123. Even De Wette acknowledges this. ("Biblische Dogmatik," § 83: "Die sittliche, *vom Mythus befreite Idee Eines Gottes, als eines heiligen Willens*, zeigt sich als dieser Gegensatz und Beziehungspunct. . . . . Er" [*i.e.*, der subjective Charakter des Hebraismus] "ist . . . . *Wahrheitsliebe* und *sittlicher Ernst*.")

[5] Lev. xix. 2; and xi. 44; cf. Ex. xv. 11; xxviii. 36.

[6] Grau, *ibid.*, p. 125.

most striking resemblance to the Zeus of that immortal creation of the grandest of the tragedians of Hellas, the "Prometheus Bound": so much so indeed that the words which it rends even the stern heart of Hêphaistos to utter to the ill-fated Promêtheus,[1]

> "πολλοὺς δ' ὀδυρμοὺς καὶ γόους ἀνωφελεῖς
> φθέγξει· Διὸς γὰρ δυσπαραίτητοι φρένες,"

might well be said by Gabriel to one of those whom the Muslim terms the "enemies of[2] GOD." But the GOD of Islâm is more terrible even than the Aeschylean Zeus, inasmuch as of Him it cannot be asserted that He fears[3] Fate or dreads the coming of one who shall drive Him from power. Nay further, instead of being subject to Fate or Necessity, Allâh's will *is* Fate, and by it the lot of every creature for time[4] and eternity is

[1] "Promêtheus Desmôtês," vv. 33, 34.

[2] أعداء الله. This phrase and its singular عدوّ الله are of continual recurrence in Arabic books; *e.g.*, in the *Sîratu'r Rasûl* of Ibn Hishâm.

[3] The ordinary view with regard to the relation subsisting between the Æschylean Zeus and Fate is ably combated by Dr. Westcott in his "Religious Thought in the West." If his view be adopted, the parallel between Zeus and Allâh will be still closer.

[4] *V.* Sale, "Preliminary Discourse," sect. iv.; Muir, "The Coran, its Composition and Teaching," pp. 52, 53; Stobart, "Islâm," p. 96, sqq. *V.* also Qur'ân, Sûrah vi. 123, 125; vii. 177, 185; x. 99; xi. 120; xiii. 27, 30; xvi. 39, 95; xvii. 14; xviii. 16; xxxii. 17; lxxiv. 34; lxxvi.

unalterably fixed. The proper and in fact the only possible attitude for the Muslim with reference to his God is therefore that expressed by Prometheus in his hopeless—or all but hopeless—agony,

> .."τὴν πεπρωμένην δὲ χρὴ
> αἶσαν φέρειν ὡς ῥᾷστα, γιγνώσκονθ' ὅτι
> τὸ τῆς 'Ανάγκης ἔστ' ἀδήριτον σθένος."[1]

Reprobation.

A Muḥammadan tradition states that when God showed Adam the spirits of his descendants as yet unborn,[2] He divided them into two bands, ranking one company on Adam's right hand and one on his left. Of those on the right God said, "These are for Paradise, and I care not;" while of the unfortunate shades on the left-hand side the Deity, who is so often in the Qu'rân termed "the Merciful, the Gracious," uttered these fearful words, "These are for hell-fire, and I care[3] not."

29, 30; lxxxi. 28, 29; xcv. 4, 5. The most usual way of expressing the matter is the phrase: يضلّ الله من يشاء ويهدى من يشاء. Certain sects, however, believe in man's freewill, and the subject has given rise to much discussion among Muslims. Almost all orthodox Muḥammadans hold the belief in Fate *very* strongly, and history shows the same feeling in all Muḥammadan countries from the beginning of Islâm.

[1] "Prometheus Desmôtês," vv. 103-105.

[2] "Qiṣaṣu'l Anbiyâ," Pers. ed., p. 21.

[3] هؤلاء فى الجنّة ولا أبالى وهؤلاء فى النار ولا أبالى, *ibid.*

Adam, tradition says, weeps[1] even now in Paradise when he beholds so many of his children doomed, whole ages before their birth, to everlasting torture; but no feeling of pity touches the heart of the Author of their doom. The Qur'ân itself represents GOD Almighty as saying, "Verily I will fill Hell with genii and men all[2] together" (Sûrah xi., 120, and Sûrah xxxii., 13), and makes Him declare that He had[3] created them for this very purpose. "God," we are told,[4] "misleadeth whom He willeth, and guideth aright whom He willeth";

[1] In relating the tale of the *Mi'râj* of Muḥammad, *Ibn Shahâb* writes, on Muḥammad's authority: فلما جئت الى السماء الدنيا . . . . اذا رجل قاعد ـ على يمينه اسورة وعلى يساره اسورة ـ اذا نظر قبل يمينه ضحك واذا نظر قبل شماله بكى فقال مرحبا بالنبى الصالح والابن الصالح ـ قلت لجبرئيل مَن هذا ـ قال هذا آدم وهذه الاسورة عن يمينهِ وعن شماله نسم بنيهِ فاهل اليمين منهم اهل الجنّة والاسورة التى عن شماله اهل النار فاذا نظر عن يمينه ضحكَ واذا نظر قبل شماله بكى (*Mishkât.*)

[2] لَأَمْلَأَنَّ جَهَنَّمَ مِنَ ٱلْجِنَّةِ وَٱلنَّاسِ أَجْمَعِينَ

[3] وَلِذَٰلِكَ خَلَقَهُمْ, Sûrah xi. 120; also Sûrah vii. 178: وَلَقَدْ ذَرَأْنَا لِجَهَنَّمَ كَثِيرًا مِنَ ٱلْجِنِّ وَٱلْإِنْسِ

[4] *E.g.*, Sûrah lxxiv. 34: يُضِلُّ ٱللَّهُ مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَيَهْدِي مَنْ يَشَاءُ

and He says of Himself in the Qur'ân, "And[1] as for every man, We have firmly fixed his bird (*i.e.* his fate) upon his neck."

Fate. Muslims tell us that before the creation of the world GOD formed a Pen, and commanded it,[2] saying, "Write My knowledge in My creation and in what exists unto the Day of the Resurrection." The Pen accordingly wrote on the Preserved Tablet an account of all that was to take place until the Resurrection Day, "even to the amount of the movement of the leaf of a tree as it rises or falls." A Muḥammadan writer[3] says,

> "When Fate has come, Man cannot it avert :
> Fate fails not, should he mind and sight exert.
> Beyond the Lord's decree, writ by His pen,
> Nor less nor more comes to His servants, men."

Meaning of Islâm. The very name of the Religion of Muḥammad, *Islâm*, denotes self-surrender or resignation,—but it is resignation to such a deity[4] as this,—the

[1] Sûrah xvii. 14: وَكُلَّ إِنْسَانٍ أَلْزَمْنَاهُ طَائِرَهُ فِي عُنُقِهِ

[2] Qiṣaṣu'l Anbiyâ, p. 4.

[3] چو آمد قضا و نه کردش حذر
قضا بر نه گردد بعقل وبصر
بر آنچش خداوند رانده قلم
رسد بر سرِ بنده نه بیش وکم
(*Ibid.*, p. 17.)

[4] According to Muḥammadan theology, God is the Author as well of *evil* as of *good*.

resignation of impotence, of fear, of despair. How different it is from Christian resignation—the simple, childlike, trustful, reliance in love and faith upon an All-wise, Almighty, loving *Father* in Heaven, Who orders all things for our present and eternal good!

Muḥammadan Ideas about Prayer.

§ 3. Although the Muḥammadan Religion inculcates the obligation of Prayer, as we have already seen,[1] yet the ideas which Muslims have of prayer are very far indeed from being correct. It is regarded as a *duty*, not as a *privilege*, a task imposed upon Believers by the arbitrary *fiat* of their Lord, rather than a spiritual exercise and as a means of grace and refreshing. This is made very clear by a tradition related by a great many Muḥammadan authorities.[2] Qatâdah, for example, in relating the incidents of Muḥammad's famous "Night Journey,"[3] tells us that the "Prophet,"

Tradition about Night Journey.

[1] Lecture i., § 10.

[2] Qatâdah, Ibn Shaḥâb, Thâbit, &c.

[3] فرجعتُ فمررتُ على موسىٰ فقال بما أُمِرْتَ ـ قُلتُ أُمِرْتُ بخمسين صلوة كلّ يوم ـ قال انّ أُمّتك لا تستطيع خمسين صلوة كلّ يوم وانّى وَٱللّٰهِ قد جرّبتُ الناس قبلك وعالجتُ بنى اسرٰئيل اشدّ المعالجة فارجع الى ربّك فسئلهُ التخفيف لِأُمّتك ـ فرجعتُ فوضع عنّى عشرًا ـ ارجعتُ الىٰ موسىٰ فقال مِثلَهُ ـ فرجعتُ فوضع عشرًا ـ فرجعتُ الىٰ موسىٰ فقال مثلهُ ـ فرجعتُ فوضع عنّى عشرًا ـ فَأُمِرْتُ بعشر صلوات كلّ يوم ـ فرجعت الىٰ

after visiting the seventh Heaven and there entering the very Presence of GOD Himself, began his return to earth by retraversing the sixth Heaven, where he had previously met with Moses. "Then I returned,' said Muḥammad, 'and I passed by Moses. He said to me, 'What hast thou been commanded?' I said, 'I have been ordered to offer fifty prayers every day.' He said, 'Verily thy people will not be able to offer fifty prayers each day, and indeed I myself—I swear by GOD!—have tried men before thee, and I endeavoured to cure the Children of Israel by the strongest remedial treatment. Return thou therefore unto thy Lord and ask of Him a lightening of the burden for thy people.' I thereupon returned, then He relieved me of ten prayers. Then I returned to Moses. He said, as before. Then I went back and He (GOD) relieved me of ten prayers. Thereupon I went again to Moses, and he said the same thing. Again I returned, and (GOD) relieved me of ten prayers more, and I was commanded to offer ten prayers every day. Then I went back to Moses, and he said as before. I then returned and was bidden to offer[1] five prayers

Prayer Five times a Day.

موسیٰ فقال مثلهٗ ـ فرجعت فأُمِرْتُ بخمس صلوات كلّ يوم
(Qatâdah, quoted by Sayyid Aḥmad, "Essay on Shaqq-i Sadr and Mi'râj," p. 31.)

[1] Mishkât, "Kitâb uṯ Ṭahârah"; "Bâbu'l Ghusl," sect. iii., confirms this: عن ابن عمر ـ قال كانت الصّلوة خمسين . . . . فلم يزل رسولِ الله صلعم يسأل حتّى جُعِلَتِ الصّلاة خمساً

a day." The same writer[1] adds that the "Prophet" said in conclusion, "Then, when I departed, a crier cried aloud, 'I have completed My injunction and removed a burden from My servants.'" Another traditionalist says that each of the five prescribed prayers was accounted as equal in merit to ten, and that thus the number originally enjoined was made up.[2] It is evident, from the very fact of such a tradition being current among the Muslims, that they regard Prayer as a kind of tribute to be paid to God as His due, and that it is not in any way a means of heartfelt spiritual communion with Him, but rather the homage due from slaves to their Lord.

Prayer not Communion with God.

The worshipper is required to offer his adoration to God at certain fixed times, and in doing so to use definitely prescribed ceremonies and to follow with the utmost precision the appointed ritual. If he blunders in these matters, his prayer is useless, the homage is not acceptable[3] to his Lord, and no degree of earnestness and devotion can render it so. The postures which a believer is commanded to adopt in praying may to some

Formalism.

[1] قال - فلمّا جاوزتُ نادى منادٍ - امضيتُ فريضتى وخفّفتُ عن عبادى (Qatâdah, *ibid.*, p. 33.)

[2] Thâbit (*ibid.*, p. 32) says: لكلّ صلوة عشرة فتلك خمسون صلوة

[3] Vide Osborn, "Islâm under the Khalifs of Baghdâd," pp. 6, sqq.; Hauri, "Der Islâm," pp. 56, 80, 81.

extent be modified, however, when he is confined to his bed through[1] sickness. But even in this case he must continue day after day to repeat the same string of jejune phrases, and that too in the Arabic language, which the great mass of Muslims do not understand. This exaltation of the outer ceremonial over the inner kernel of worship must tend to deaden all aspirations after a more spiritual service. Thus, in reference to prayer as well as to almost everything else, Islâm gives Man a stone when his heart hungers for the bread of life, and too often chokes the aspiration after GOD which has been implanted in the heart of every man in order to lead him to feel after His Creator till he find Him, and in Him attain to life and peace.

Directions regarding Prayer.

I proceed to quote a few of the directions regarding Prayer in order to show how puerile and formal they are. "'When[2] any one of you says his prayers, he *must* have something in front of him; but if he cannot find anything for that purpose, he must put his walking-stick into the ground. But if the ground be hard, then let him place it lengthways before him. But if he has no staff, he must draw a line on the ground, after which there will be no detriment in his prayers from any one passing in front of it.' This passing in front of a man is a terrible crime, and exceed-

[1] "As Shâfi'i directs that the sick should pray lying on their right side." (Sale, note on Qur'ân, Sûrah iii., v. 188.)

[2] Osborn, *ut supra*, p. 7.

ingly detrimental to prayer, though it does not altogether nullify it. The 'Prophet' empowered a Believer annoyed in this way to 'draw his sword' upon the intruder and 'cut him down,' and further declared that, if 'a passenger did but know the sin of passing before a person employed in prayer, he would find it better for him to sink into the earth.' Equally important is the manner of performing the ablutions previous to prayer. When the 'Prophet' performed these, 'he took a handful of water and raised it to the under part of his chin, and combed his beard with his hand, and said, In this way has my Lord ordered me.' And on a certain occasion when a party of his followers, performing their ablutions in a hurry, had omitted to wet the soles of their feet, the 'Prophet' said, 'Alas for the soles of their feet, for they will be in hell-fire!'" Equal importance is attached to the posture adopted while offering prayer. "'Resting[1] on the arms while at prayer is pleasing to the people of hell,' so also is 'hurry in prostration like a cock pecking grain,' and 'spreading the arms like dogs and tigers.' The safest plan in this as in all other things was exactly to imitate the 'Prophet.' And this was accordingly done. The 'Prophet's' gestures and attitudes[2] during prayer

[1] Osborn, p. 8; *vide Mishkât*, chapters on Prayer (*Ṣalât*).

[2] *Vide, e.g.*, Mishkât, "Bâbu'l Masâjid wa Mawâdhi'i's Ṣalât," sect. i.; also the chapter entitled "Ṣifatu's Ṣalât," &c., &c.

were carefully noted down and have been imitated by the Faithful ever since."

Hypocrisy and Pharisaism.

The natural consequence of all this formalism is the development of hypocrisy. In their ceremonial washings and purifications, their fasts, their prayers in the streets and in public places, and many other similar practices, the resemblance between the devout Muslims of the present time and the Pharisees of our Lord's day is so striking that it has often occurred to Muḥammadan inquirers when reading the Gospels with me. Prayer and ceremonial rites, when conducted in the way we have described, have no good effect upon the heart and conscience. It all becomes a meaningless formality in too many cases,[1] persisted in from habit and perhaps from superstition—the fungoid growth which tells of the death of true Religion in the soul of Man. "The[2] merchant lies and cheats,—then the Muezzin's voice interrupts him: he offers up his prayer, and turns back once more to his lying. At a feast the revellers listen to equivocal songs,—they pray, and then they recover the broken thread of their subject."

[1] Even Bosworth Smith is unable altogether to deny this. He writes: "Some of the characteristics of Musalmân prayer are almost peculiar to it, and render it sometimes, perhaps, more profoundly devotional (! !), and *sometimes more purely mechanical*, than is to be found amongst the followers of any other creed." ("Moḥammad and Moḥammedanism," p. 164.)

[2] Hauri, "Der Islâm," p. 81.

Merit acquired by prayer in particular places.

The amount of merit which attaches to a prayer, though not affected by the devotedness or the comprehension of the worshipper, is greatly increased if it be offered in a specially holy place. "A prayer in this mosque of mine," said the "Prophet,"[1] "is better than a thousand prayers anywhere else except in the Holy Mosque (at Mecca)." At another time he said, "A[2] man's prayer in the congregation doubles in value twenty-five times over his prayer in his own house or in his bazaar." In consequence of this Tradition—(so we are told by Ibn Khallikân,[3])—a celebrated Jurist, Al Muzânì, whenever he was unavoidably prevented from attending service in a mosque, used to repeat his prayers twenty-five times over in his own house, striving thus to gain the same degree of merit that he would have attained had he been present in the mosque. A great deal of merit is also supposed to be acquired by the repetition of the Divine Names, or even by saying the word "Allâh" many hundreds of times. In

[1] Mishkât, *ibid.*, p. 59 (Arabic ed.): قال رسول الله صلعم - صلوة فى مسجدى هٰذا خيرمن الفِ صلوة فى ما سواه الّا المسجد الحرام

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 60: قال رسول الله صلعم - صلوة الرّجل فى الجماعة تُضَعَّف على صلاتِهِ فى بيتِهِ وفى سوقِهِ خَمْساً وعشرين ضِعْفاً

[3] Ibn Khallikân, vol. i., p. 201 (quoted by Osborn, *ut sup.*, p. 9, note).

India one of the distinctions between a Muslim mendicant and a Hindû beggar is that the former thus utters the name "Allâh" in an unceasing chant or whine, while the latter substitutes the name of his deity, Râm or Hari generally, and reiterates it in precisely the same way. Merit is also gained by repeated recitations or readings of the Qur'ân, or of portions of it; and this may be done for the benefit of those who are dead.

Muslim Piety.

§ 4. The character of Muslim piety may easily be inferred from what we have said regarding GOD's attributes and their notions concerning prayer. It is legal, slavish, mechanical, unspiritual. Good works are commanded to be done for the sake of the reward which they bring and as a means of salvation. For example, the Qur'ân tells all true Believers, "If ye[1] cause your alms to appear, then how excellent are they! and if ye conceal them and give them to the poor, then that is good for you and will atone for your evil deeds; and GOD is aware of what ye do." Tradition represents Muhammad as saying, "Offer[2] ye your

Formal and servile.

[1] Sûrah ii., v. 273: ان تبدوا الصّدقات فنعمّا هى وان تخفوها وتوتوها الفقرآء فهو خير لكم ويكفّر عنكم من سيآتكم والله بما تعملون خبير

[2] Mishkât, "Kitâbu's Salât," sect. ii.: صلّوا خمسكم وصوموا شهركم وادّوا زكوة اموالكم واطيعوا ذا امركم تدخلوا جنّة ربّكم

five prayers, and fast during your month,[1] and pay the appointed alms out of your goods, and obey him who has authority over you, thus shall ye enter the Paradise of your Lord." And again, "Whoever[2] prays with two acts of adoration and makes no blunder in them, him will his Lord pardon, whatever offence he may previously have committed."

But faith needed.

Yet we must in fairness remark that the Qur'ân distinctly teaches that *faith* is necessary to render the giving of alms or the doing of any kind of good works effectual for the acquirement of merit, and that hypocrisy annuls the value of the action, however good in itself. Thus in the second Sûrah we read, "Kindly[3] speech and forgiveness[4] is better than alms which is followed by injury." And again, "O[5] ye who believe, do not make your

[1] *I.e.*, during Ramadhân.

[2] Mishkât, *ibid.*, sect. iii.: من صلّى سجدتين لا يسهو فيهما غفر الله له ما تقدم من ذنبه

[3] Sûrah ii., v. 265: قَوْلٌ مَعْرُوفٌ وَمَغْفِرَةٌ خَيْرٌ مِنْ صَدَقَةٍ يَتْبَعُهَا أَذًى

[4] The original word used for "forgiveness" (مَغْفِرَةٌ) here shows that the meaning is *God's* forgiveness.

[5] Sûrah ii., v. 266: يَا أَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تُبْطِلُوا صَدَقَاتِكُمْ بِٱلْمَنِّ وَٱلْأَذَى كَٱلَّذِي يُنْفِقُ مَا لَهُ رِئَاءَ ٱلنَّاسِ وَلَا يُؤْمِنُ بِٱللهِ وَٱلْيَوْمِ ٱلْآخِرِ

alms worthless by reminding (people of them) or by injury, like a man who giveth what he hath as a spectacle unto men, and believeth not in GOD and in the Last Day." Muḥammad taught that the service acceptable to GOD was not *merely* outward, by saying (Sûrah ii., v. 172):—"It[1] is not righteousness for you to turn your faces towards the east and the west, but righteousness is his who believeth in GOD and the Last Day and the Angels, and the Book and the Prophets, and who giveth his wealth through his love to his relatives and the orphans and the poor and the traveller and beggars and those in bondage, and who offereth up prayer, and who giveth the legal alms; and it is theirs who perform their covenants when they have made them, and theirs who are patient in misfortune and distress and in time of adversity: these are they who speak the truth, and these are the pious." Muḥammad rightly enough felt and taught that no amount of outward devotion

What is righteousness?

[1] Sûrah ii., v. 172: لَيْسَ ٱلْبِرَّ أَنْ تُوَلُّوا وُجُوهَكُمْ قِبَلَ
ٱلْمَشْرِقِ وَٱلْمَغْرِبِ وَلٰكِنَّ ٱلْبِرَّ مَنْ آمَنَ بِٱللّٰهِ وَٱلْيَوْمِ ٱلْآخِرِ
وَٱلْمَلَائِكَةِ وَٱلْكِتَابِ وَٱلنَّبِيِّينَ وَآتَى ٱلْمَالَ عَلَى حُبِّهِ ذَوِي ٱلْقُرْبَى
وَٱلْيَتَامَى وَٱلْمَسَاكِينَ وَٱبْنَ ٱلسَّبِيلِ وَٱلسَّائِلِينَ وَفِي ٱلرِّقَابِ
وَأَقَامَ ٱلصَّلٰوةَ وَآتَى ٱلزَّكٰوةَ وَٱلْمُوفُونَ بِعَهْدِهِمْ إِذَا عَاهَدُوا وَٱلصَّابِرِينَ
فِي ٱلْبَأْسَاءِ وَٱلضَّرَّاءِ وَحِينَ ٱلْبَأْسِ أُولٰئِكَ ٱلَّذِينَ صَدَقُوا وَأُولٰئِكَ
هُمُ ٱلْمُتَّقُونَ

would deceive GOD into accepting one who did not believe, and also that true belief in GOD and the teachings of His prophets *must* have some effect upon the conduct of those in whose hearts it reigned. His belief in Predestination and in GOD's arbitrariness also made him see that no man could *claim* an entrance into Paradise merely on the ground of his own good works.

None righteous.

Therefore tradition[1] informs us that on one occasion when 'Âyishah asked him whether he at least would not be admitted on account of his merits, the "Prophet" three times over answered that not even he himself would enter Paradise unless through the mercy of GOD. Although almost all Muslims now believe that they will be saved, as a last resource, through Muḥammad's[2] intercession for them, and many also hold that others of their saints[3] perform the same office, yet in the Qur'ân the possibility of this is distinctly denied.[4]

Sin—how done away with.

Some passages in the Qur'ân clearly affirm that

[1] Mishkâtu'l Maṣâbîḥ, book iv. (p. 280, vol. i., of Eng. Trans.).

[2] Sale, "Prelim. Discourse," sect. iv.; Hauri, "Der Islam," pp. 52, 53; Stobart, "Islam," p. 192; Mishkât. "Kitâbu'd Da'awât," sect. i., *initio*.

[3] Lane, "Modern Egyptians," vol. i., pp. 129, 325; vol. ii., p. 175, 295, &c.

[4] Sûrah ii. 45: وَاتَّقُوا يَوْمًا لَا تَجْزِي نَفْسٌ عَنْ نَفْسٍ شَيْئًا وَلَا يُقْبَلُ مِنْهَا شَفَاعَةٌ وَلَا يُؤْخَذُ مِنْهَا عَدْلٌ وَلَا هُمْ يُنْصَرُونَ. See also Sûrah lxxxii. 19.

sins are done away with through[1] good works; and Muslims who do not trust to gaining a happy eternity in any other way, tell us that heartfelt[2] repentance will save them. It would be unfair to regard their religion as inculcating a piety altogether external, therefore; yet the stress which it lays upon ceremonial observances, such as fasting,[3] the pilgrimage[4] to Mecca, the recitation of[5] fixed prayers at stated hours, the proper mode of[6] prostration, etc., *tends* to make the great mass of Muḥammadans mere formalists.

In the whole Qur'ân and in all the Traditions I do not know of a single passage which teaches that prayer to be efficacious must be in spirit and in truth, nor that Man should or even could love GOD as well as fear Him. One of the most modern[7] apologists for Muḥammad in his thought-

[1] *E.g.*, Sûrah xi., v. 116: إِنَّ ٱلْحَسَنَاتِ يُذْهِبْنَ ٱلسَّيِّئَاتِ.

[2] "Rusûm-i Hind," part ii., chap. ii., p. 263.

[3] Sûrah ii. 179-183.

[4] Sûrah ii., vv. 192-200; Sûrah iii., v. 91; Sûrah xxii., v. 27, sqq., &c. &c.

[5] Sûrah xxix. 44; Sûrah ii. 39; Sûrah xvii. 80; &c. &c.: Mishkât, "Kitâbu's Ṣalât," "Bâbu'l Mawâqît," pp. 51, sqq.

[6] Mishkât, *ibid.*, "Bâbu'r Rukû'" and "Bâb'us Sujûd," pp. 74, sqq.

[7] Bosworth Smith, "Mohammed and Mohammedanism," p. 199. This admission, coming as it does from one inclined to show all possible favour to Muḥammadanism, is worthy of notice. Mr. Bosworth Smith's great mistake is that he evidently considers Sayyid Amîr 'Alî, Sayyid Aḥmad, and

ful work well says, "Muḥammad's notion of GOD had never been that of a great moral Being who designs that the creatures He has created should, from love and gratitude to Him, become one with Him, or even assimilated to Him." In Islâm no distinction is felt between moral duties and the obligation to perform merely ceremonial [1] observances, or if there be a distinction it is in favour of according more importance to what is ceremonial than to what is moral. One may be a very holy man, according to Muḥammadan [2] ideas, without being necessarily pure in deed or even in thought. This is well exemplified by the case of Muḥammad himself, whose character for holiness and acceptableness with GOD was not at all inconsistent with the commission of murder and adultery. Nay rather, the Qur'ân[3] teaches us that in one or two matters the moral law was *relaxed* by GOD for Muḥammad's benefit as a special privilege *because* of his being GOD's apostle and the sanctity attaching to that high office! Could

GOD not conceived of as a great Moral Being.

Divorce between Religion and Morality.

other Neo-Muḥammadans as representing *orthodox* Muḥammadanism.

[1] Hauri, "Der Islam," p. 50, well says: "Sittengebote und Ceremonialgebote sind darum auch auf eine Linie gerückt, und man fühlt es ihnen an, das sie nicht aus einem lebendigen religiösen Grundgedanken herausgewachsen sondern aus einem ältern Religionssystem herüber genommen und willkürlich geändert und vermehrt worden sind."

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

[3] See, *e.g.*, Sûrah xxxiii., vv. 37, 38, and vv. 49-51.

the divorce between Religion and Morality be more complete?

Unsatisfactory view of Sin.

§ 5. One of the greatest defects in the Muḥammadan Religion is the false and unsatisfactory view which it inculcates of Sin.[1] According to the opinion of Muslims, it is a violation of GOD's commandments, an acting contrary to His will. But that there is an inflexible and unchangeable Moral Law in the universe, which is identical with the very Nature of GOD, they are ignorant. The very words[2] used for GOD's *will* in Muḥammadan languages convey rather the idea of *fancy* or *whim* than of anything else. A certain number of actions are *right* because GOD has happened to command them to be performed, and others are *wrong* because He has been pleased to forbid them. For example, although He forbade men to worship any other than Himself, and therefore it is an unpardonable[3] crime to "associate partners with

[1] Hooper, "Christian Doctrine in contrast with Hinduism and Islâm," pp. 5-28.

[2] In Arabic generally إِرَادَةٌ, in Persian *ditto*, in Urdû مَرضِی. *V.* Hooper, *ut sup.*, p. 13.

[3] Al Baidhâwî calls "*ash shirk*," or polytheism ("associating others with GOD"), *the* unpardonable sin. *V.* Sale, "Prelim. Disc.;" also Sûrah iv., v. 51: إِنَّ ٱللّٰهَ لَا يَغْفِرُ أَنْ يُشْرَكَ بِهِ وَيَغْفِرُ مَا دُونَ ذٰلِكَ لِمَنْ يَشَآءُ. See also Sayyid Aḥmad, "Essay on the Shaqq-i Sadr and the Mi'râj," pp. 30 and 32.

God," yet the angel 'Azâzîl[1] was driven forth from Paradise and became Iblîs or Satan (*Shaiṭân*) as a punishment for the *sin* of *not* worshipping Adam!

God, the Qur'ân assures us,[2] commanded all the angels to do this; all obeyed except 'Azâzîl, who therefore suffered punishment. That Man's original nature as created by God was in complete harmony with the Divine Nature regarded as the eternal Moral Law, and that therefore sin is a subversion of our true being, does not appear from either the Qur'ân or the Traditions. On the contrary, although a few passages mention the fact that Man was created[3] upright, yet the general teaching of Islâm in its authoritative documents is distinctly to the effect that his true nature is sensual,[4] and that it is only by doing violence

Man's true nature Sensual.

[1] *V.* "Qiṣaṣu'l Anbiyâ," Story of 'Azâzîl (Pers. and Arab. editions). See also Weil, "Biblische Legenden der Musselmänner," p. 15.

[2] Sûrah vii., vv. 10, sqq.: ولقد خلقناكم ثم صورناكم ثم قلنا للملائكة اسجدوا لآدم فسجدوا الا ابليس لم يكن من الساجدين * قال ما منعك ان لا تسجد اذ أمرتك قال أنا خير منه خلقتني من نار وخلقته من طين * قال فاهبط منها فما تكون لك ان تتكبر فيها فاخرج انك من الصاغرين. See also Sûrah ii., v. 32, and Sûrah xv., vv. 28, sqq.

[3] *E.g.*, Sûrah lxxxii. 7.

[4] *E.g.*, Sûrah iv. 32: يريد الله ان يخفف عنكم وخلق الانسان ضعيفا *

to himself that he can obey GOD's arbitrary precepts.

Why GOD should desire us to obey them no Muḥammadan can tell, but *if* we do so we shall, as a reward for such self-denial, be permitted the unlimited indulgence of our lower appetites in the unending Afterlife. Muḥammad perhaps understood that happiness is possible only when one's circumstances and surroundings are consonant with one's disposition. And because he believed that Man's disposition, his nature as a man created by the hand of GOD, *required* sensual gratifications, the "Prophet" depicted the happiness of the Just as consisting, in the next life, of the enjoyment of savoury[1] viands, delicious liquids, the company of celestial damsels, and other sensuous pleasures. GOD has thought fit to forbid us to indulge to the full in these things here, but He has promised unlimited indulgence by and by. If, however, men indulge in them here, and in addition to this refuse to believe in GOD and His Apostles and to pray and offer alms, then they will not be allowed to follow the bent of their nature hereafter, but will have unpleasant[2] viands to eat and will be punished in other ways as well. In a word, Islâm regards Man's *fallen* nature as his original one, and believes it will always remain as it now is. Hence

(Original Sin.)

[1] *E.g.*, in Sûrah xlvii., vv. 13, 16, 17; lv., vv. 46-*fin.* lvi., 11-39; &c. &c.

[2] *E.g.*, Sûrah lvi. 40-55; xlvii. 16; lxix. 30-38; &c.

the doctrine of a Fall and of Original Sin is entirely unknown to the Muslim. Adam, it is true, committed a *fault* (زلّة) when he ate the forbidden fruit,[1] but the consequences—the *spiritual* as distinguished from any other results—are in no sense inherited by his children.

When expelled from the heavenly Paradise and cast down to earth, Adam was distressed, not because of the loss of communion with his Maker, but because he could [2] no longer hear the voice of the angels. There is therefore, according to the Qur'ân, no need whatever of a change of heart before one can see GOD. Repentance is required, if a man has been in the habit of doing what GOD has forbidden, yet the Arabic word (توبة) *taubah* is not equivalent to the Greek μετάνοια used in the New Testament, but signifies merely a *turning back* from the error of one's ways. Man's nature never was in accord with GOD's, the Muḥammadan thinks, and never can or should be so.

No Likene between Gc and Man.

Between GOD and Man there is no likeness whatever, nor is it desirable that there ever should be. The Christian conception of GOD's commandments as the expression of His innermost Being [3]

[1] Sûrah ii., v. 33.

[2] "Rauzatu'l Aḥbâb," quoted by Dr. Kœlle, "Moḥammed and Moḥammedanism," p. 20, and note.

[3] "Nach dem Evangelium wird der Mensch durch die Erfüllung der Gebote Gottes seinem wahren Wesen zurückgegeben; wie sie der Ausdruck des innersten Wesens Gottes

did not occur to Muḥammad. Nor did he understand that our true happiness must necessarily depend upon our nature[1] being restored to its original purity and our wills harmonised with God's will. Nay rather, in the "Prophet's" opinion, God's commands are such as are foreign to and do violence to our nature, and Man feels himself restrained[2] through them from the true development of his being. He cannot therefore fulfil all God's commands perfectly. Yet he can to some extent at least atone for the breach of one of these fettering precepts by doing some act of self-denial, something which God did not order

Merit.

sind, so sind sie auch für den Menschen, der zum Bilde Gottes geschaffen, also mit Gott wesensverwandt ist, nichts Fremdes. Gerade in ihrer Erfüllung wird er selig. Selig sein und Gottes Willen thun ist eins und dasselbe. Die Moral des Islam aber ist heteronom und darum auch eudämonistisch. Wie in jeder Gesetzesreligion, so stehen auch im Islam die göttlichen Gebote dem Menschen als ein Fremdes gegenüber, durch das er sich in der Entfaltung seines wahren Wesens gehemmt fühlt; ihre Erfüllung kann ihn daher nicht beseligen, vielmehr muss die Seligkeit als ein äuserer Lohn hinzukommen."—Hauri, "Der Islam," p. 53.

[1] "Haben wir durch unsere bisherigen Untersuchungen als Realprincip des sittlich Guten die Liebe zu Gott erkannt, so ergiebt sich von selbst, dass das Böse als Gegensatz gegen das Gute sein inneres Princip in der *Entfremdung des Menschen von Gott*, in dem Mangel der Liebe zu ihm hat."—J. Müller, "Die Christliche Lehre von der Sünde," vol. i., p. 169.

[2] *V.* also Osborn, "Islâm under the Khalifs of Baghdâd," pp. 138, 139.

him to do of necessity, or by performing some rite appointed for this very purpose, *e.g.* by making a pilgrimage to Mecca, or by giving voluntary alms (*ṣadaqah*, صدقة, as distinguished from the legal "tithes" or *zakât*, زكوة).

Muslims often tell us that Sin is a disease. This is true in one sense, but the comparison may easily lead us to an erroneous conclusion. This it does in Islâm. "If it be a disease," a Muslim is inclined to think, "we can hardly be very much to blame for it after all. God is Merciful and Compassionate, and He will not punish us very severely for being ill in this way, more especially if we are good Muslims, believing in His books and His prophets, offering the prayers He has commanded, and doing a great deal to please Him. Besides, He created us as we are, and He *fated* us to do what we are doing." The denial of Man's free-will, and the belief that all our actions are inalterably predestined for us, prevent Muslims from feeling the terrible guilt of sin. Of course Conscience frequently asserts itself, but Reason strives by this and similar arguments to silence the voice of the spirit. When hard pressed in discussion on this subject a Maulavî is reported to have said, "We confess that we are sinners and have done wrong, but although we are obliged by our reverence for God to say this, yet if we go back to the root of the matter God is Himself the Author of our sinful acts. It is not reverent to

Sin a disease.

Guilt of Si[n] not recognised

God the Author o[f] Evil.

say that *He* has lied or stolen or murdered, and so we confess that *we* have done so. Yet after all the fault is not ours; God is the Creator of both good *and evil.*"

By calling sin a disease the Muḥammadan does not imply that we require to be cured of it, any more than does the Hindû who uses precisely the same language. His idea is rather that liability to sin is a *weakness* consequent upon our being men, just in the same way that our inability to know or to do all things is a weakness or imperfection. Yet as the removal of the latter defect is not necessary for our happiness, so neither is the former. Certain actions are sins here because God has disallowed them to us on earth: they will be permitted in the next world and will then cease to be sinful. It will be evident that purity of heart is neither considered necessary nor desirable: in fact it would be hardly too much to say that it is *impossible* for a Muslim.

Is Paradise a Sensual one?

Many Muḥammadan writers[1] have seen some-

[1] As, for example, Al Baidhâwî, Al Ghazzâli, &c. The writer of the controversial work "Mîzânu'l Mawâzîn" (written in answer to Dr. Pfander's "Mîzânu'l Ḥaqq") seems inclined to do the same, but he does not venture to do so very clearly lest he should shock orthodox minds. His defence amounts to saying that much that Muḥammad says of Paradise—its four rivers of honey, wine, &c.—is "*supported* by the Gemara and Talmûd." So far he is right, but this is not the case with regard to the Houris and, in fact, the generally sensual character of the Muḥammadan Paradise.

thing of this, and have therefore endeavoured to explain the delights of Paradise as mentioned in the Qur'ân and the Traditions as meaning something spiritual and as not being merely sensual. Others believe[1] that, besides the sensual gratifications there permitted to the majority of the Justified, a nobler and more spiritual recompense will be bestowed upon the noble natures among them. But all such ideas and suggestions are not only very probably of later date than Muḥammad's time, but moreover are not generally accepted even now by the vast majority of Muslims.

Sin an external pollution.

Again, from both the Qur'ân[2] and the Traditions it is evident that Muḥammad regarded Sin as a mere external pollution[3] adhering to the body and capable of being *washed* off by proper ablutions or by the performance of certain rites. On one occasion he is related to have said to some of his followers, "If[4] there be a river at the gate of any one of you, in which he bathes five times every day, will there remain any defilement on him?" They replied, "No dirt will remain on him." The "Prophet" said, "Then that is what the Five Prayers are like; by means of them GOD wipes out sins." Again Abû Dharr tells us that one day in winter Muḥammad went out when the leaves were

[1] We shall recur to this subject when speaking of Muḥammadan ideas about the future life.

[2] *E.g.*, Sûrah ii. 273.

[3] Mishkât, "Kitâbu'ṣ Ṣalât," sect. i, p. 49.

[4] *Ibid.*, sect. iii., p. 50.

falling from the trees. He caught hold of some branches, and when he did so some leaves were shaken off and fell on the ground at his feet. Muḥammad[1] said, "O Abû Dharr, verily let the believing man[2] offer the Prayers by which he seeks the face of God, then his offences will drop off him just as these leaves drop off this tree." One day[3] a man came to Muḥammad and acknowledged to him that he had committed a fault, asking[4] at the same time how to atone for it. Muḥammad gave no immediate answer, and the man went away. A few minutes later a verse occurred to Muḥammad which would, he thought, meet the case. He therefore sent and called the man back and recited for him the verse now found in[5] Sûrah xi., v. 116:—"And raise thou the Prayer at both ends of the day and during a part of the night: verily good deeds drive away sins, this is a reminder to those who are mindful." On being asked whether this applied to this single man only or to all, the "Prophet" replied, "To all."

[1] Literally, "the resigned slave" (*i.e.* of God). Ar. العبد المسلم.

[2] Mishkât, *ibid.*, p. 50.

[3] *Vide* Osborn, *op. cit.*, p. 79 and note.

[4] Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ γυναικός τινος ἐπιθυμήσας ἐμιάνθη τὸ σῶμα.

[5] Sûrah xi., v. 116: وَأَقِمِ ٱلصَّلَوٰةَ طَرَفَىِ ٱلنَّهَارِ وَزُلَفًا مِنَ ٱللَّيْلِ انّ الحسنات يذهبن السّيّئات ذلك ذكرى للذّاكرين.

Different ways of getting rid of Sin.

Those Muslims who have been led to take a deeper view of sin than their "Prophet" apparently did often say that something more than mere outward ceremony, something better than the perfunctory offering of the stated prayers or making a pilgrimage or giving alms, is needed to take away their guilt, or at least to deliver them from its evil consequences. But they differ among themselves as to what the remedy is. Some among them trust to the intercession of Muḥammad himself, as we have already said above, believing that GOD created the whole world for his sake,[1] and that he loves the "Prophet" so deeply that He will certainly grant mercy in the last day to all[2] his followers at his request.

This view is a most unworthy one: for, even presuming that Muḥammad had been a particularly

[1] Weil, "Biblische Legenden der Musselmänner," p. 14; *v.* also "'Arâisu't Tîjân," *Majlis fî Qiṣṣati Âdama*, p. 36: ومنهم من قال خلق الخلق جميعهم لاجل محمد صلعم - عن قتادة عن سعيد بن المسيب عن ابن عبّاس قال اوحى الله تعالى على عيسى عليه السلام يا عيسى آمن بمحمّد صلعم وامر أمّتكَ ان يؤمنوا به فلو لا محمّد ما خلقت آدم ولا الجنّة ولا النار - ولقد خلقت العرش على الماء فاضطرب فكتبت عليه لا اله الّا الله محمّد رسول الله فسكن .

[2] Except those of them that "attribute partners to GOD." Ibn Ma'sûd, speaking of the *Mi'râj*, says that God— وغفر لمن لا يشرك بالله من أمّته هيًّا المقحمات. (Quoted by Sayyid Aḥmad, "Shaqq-i Sadr," p. 32.)

holy man—which he was not—it would be strange indeed for GOD to show so much favoritism to one of His creatures as to leave the eternal doom of so many in his hands. And Muḥammad never claimed—nor do any of his orthodox followers claim for him—that he was anything but a creature. Others say, "The remedy[1] for the disease of Sin is repentance (*taubah*) and regret. Whoever turns to GOD Most High with self-abasement and contrition, the Most High God pardons his sin." But when, in answer to this, it is urged that no earthly judge or magistrate would be thought just who let off a thief or a murderer from punishment merely because of the man's profession of penitence, the Muslim replies that no conclusion can be drawn from these premises regarding GOD's dealing with sinners. "For," he urges, "the magistrate is not his own master, but has to obey the orders of his superiors; but GOD—Praised be He and exalted!—has no one to whom He must render[2] account." Such an argument appears to many a Muḥammadan to be most conclusive!

There are some, however, in whose hearts the yearning rises for something better than this, something that will enable them to escape the terrors of conscience. Yet Islâm is unable to give them any comfort if they are not

[1] "Rusûm-i Hind," part ii., chap. ii., p. 263.

[2] This argument has actually been adduced by Muslims when arguing the point with myself.

satisfied with what has been said above. And many are not able to rest content therewith. History relates instances of the terrible mental agonies endured by some of the most learned and devout Muslims because their consciences could not find any balm in the faith to which they held most tenaciously in life and in death. "Concerning[1] 'Ammâr ibn 'Abdu'llâh, one of the 'Companions,' we are told that he was wont to fast the entire day and spend whole nights in prayer. On such occasions he would be heard by his neighbours shrieking out in the stillness of the night hours, 'O my GOD, the fire of hell robs me of sleep! Oh, pardon me my sins! The lot of Man in this world is care and sorrow,[2] and in the next judgment and the fire. Oh, where shall the soul find rest and happiness'?

Tortures of conscience.

"Abû 'Imrân was a celebrated Imâm and doctor, and one of the *Tâbi's*.[3] When his

[1] Osborn, *op. cit.*, pp. 88, 89, *et seqq.*

[2] Abû Bekr soll einmal ausgerufen haben, "O wäre ich doch als ein Vogel und nicht als ein Mensch erschaffen worden!" Von Omar wird das Wort überliefert, "O wäre ich doch dieser Strohhalm, o wäre ich doch vergessen und für immer vergessen!" (A. von Kremer, "Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams," page 24.) Einer der ältesten Theologen des Islam, Hasan von Basra, pflegte zu sagen, "Der Mensch, welcher den Koran liest und daran glaubt, wird in der Regel mit Schrecken erfüllt werden in dieser Welt und viel weinen." (Dozy, "Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme," page 201.)—Hauri, "Der Islam," p. 67.

[3] Companions of Muḥammad.

death drew near he was sorely troubled in spirit, and, being spoken to about it, said, 'What peril can be greater than mine? I must expect a messenger from my Lord, sent to announce to me either Paradise or Hell. I declare solemnly I would rather remain as I am now, with my soul struggling in my throat till the Day of Resurrection, than undergo such a hazard.'" Such instances might be indefinitely multiplied.[1] There is nothing in the Religion of Islâm to make men conscious of their sins, nay, rather there is much to prevent them from realising the fatal nature of Sin in itself. But when any earnest man does become aware of his deep sinfulness and his utter helplessness, he finds no provision for him in the teaching of the "Prophet," no way of salvation opened which will enable him to obtain peace with GOD. An arbitrary Master is his Judge, who may untold ages ago have predestinated him to Hell,—his sins crowd upon his mind in the awful moment of death,—the flames of the Abyss seem already raging for their prey, and he has no refuge, no hope.

Denial of an Atonement.

§ 6. This leads us to consider another of the great defects of Islâm as a Religion, viz. its entire denial of any Atonement for Sin. Almost all other religions that now exist in the world or that ever did exist afford at least traces of some original belief in an atonement. Some have believed that

[1] The fearful death of Aurangzeb is well known.

one man's life[1] could be offered for another's guilt, or that the child[2] might die for his father's sin. Others have substituted animal for human sacrifices. But, although even the heathen Arabs by their sacrifices of animals[3] to some degree recognised their felt need of an offering for sin, yet Muḥammad—though permitting sacrifices[4] still to be offered on the ground that Abraham had done so,—entirely and designedly omitted from the faith which he promulgated all teaching on the subject, except such as would deny the very possibility of any propitiation being made for the sins of the world. Christ, according to the Qur'ân, was one of the greatest[5] of the Prophets; He was miraculously conceived and born of the Virgin Mary;[6] He wrought many wonderful[7] miracles; He is called in the Qur'ân, "The[8] Word of God" and

[1] *E.g.*, the Celts in Britain; Cæsar, bk. vi., 16: "Pro vita hominis nisi hominis vita reddatur, non posse aliter deorum immortalium numen placari arbitrantur."

[2] *Vide, e.g.*, the "Sacrifice of Children," Cuneiform text in Sayce's Assyrian Gram., p. 123.

[3] Sale, "Prelim. Disc.;" Weil, "Mohammed der Prophet," p. 19; Sayyid Aḥmad, "Ess. on Religions of pre-Islâmic Arabs;" Abû'l Fidâ, "Hist. Anteislamica."

[4] Sûrah xxii. 33, &c.

[5] The six greatest are: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muḥammad. (Sale, "Prelim. Disc.," sect. iv.)

[6] Sûrah iii., vv. 40, sqq.

[7] *Ibid*: Sûrah v. 109, sqq., &c.

[8] *E.g.*, Sûrah iv. 169, &c.

even "A spirit from Him,"—higher titles than are given to any other prophet. Yet he is regarded as inferior to Muḥammad himself, "the Seal of the[1] Prophets," and as a mere man.[2] His death for our sins is absolutely denied by all Muslims, in accordance with Sûrah iv., v. 156,[3] where the Jews are represented as saying, "Verily we slew the Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary, the Apostle of God," but in answer to them GOD, we are told, said to Muḥammad, "And they slew Him not, and they crucified Him not, but he was represented unto them (by another) . . . And they slew Him not in reality, but GOD exalted Him unto Himself, and GOD was honoured, wise." It is believed that Christ is now in the second[4] heaven and will remain there until the Resurrection, when he will return to earth,[5] preach Muḥammadanism, and die.

Christ's deity and death denied.

At Medina, in the chamber in the mosque where Muḥammad lies buried, a vacant place is left for

Qabr Sayyidina 'Isâ'bni Maryama.

[1] Sûrah xxxiii. 40: مَا كَانَ مُحَمَّدٌ أَبَا أَحَدٍ مِنْ رِجَالِكُمْ وَلٰكِنْ رَسُولَ ٱللّٰهِ وَخَاتَمَ ٱلنَّبِيِّينَ.

[2] Sûrah iii., v. 52; v., vv. 19, 166, sqq., &c.

[3] Sûrah iv. 156: وَقَوْلِهِمْ إِنَّا قَتَلْنَا ٱلْمَسِيحَ عِيسَى ٱبْنَ مَرْيَمَ رَسُولَ ٱللّٰهِ وَمَا قَتَلُوهُ وَمَا صَلَبُوهُ وَلٰكِنْ شُبِّهَ لَهُمْ . . . . وَمَا قَتَلُوهُ يَقِينًا بَلْ رَفَعَهُ ٱللّٰهُ إِلَيْهِ وَكَانَ ٱللّٰهُ عَزِيزًا حَكِيمًا.

[4] Others say in the third; others, again, the fourth.

[5] Ath Thalabî, Comment. on Sûrah iv. 156.

the tomb of "Our Lord Jesus, son[1] of Mary," as He is called by the Muslims: but His future death[2] is not regarded as in any manner atoning for sin, for we have already seen that the Qur'ân teaches that no soul can answer for the sins of another. The Muslim is therefore destitute[3] of the hope of a Saviour. His religion knows of no Redeemer,[4]

[1] سَيِّدُنَا عِيسَى بْن مَرْيَم: *v.* Burton, "El Medina and El Mecca," vol. i., p. 89; Lane, "Mod. Egyptians," vol. i., p. 93.

[2] In Sûrah xix. 34, Christ's *death* is spoken of, and He is represented as saying, when a babe, وَٱلسَّلَامُ عَلَىَّ يَوْمَ وُلِدْتُ وَيَوْمَ أَمُوتُ وَيَوْمَ أُبْعَثُ حَيًّا. One explanation of this verse given by Muslim commentators is that Christ *did not* die before leaving the earth and ascending into heaven, but that on His *return* to earth He will die. Others, however, say that He did really die quietly, and remained a few hours dead, and then rose, and was taken up to heaven by Gabriel. See Appendix A.

[3] Weil thus accounts for Muḥammad's denial of Christ's crucifixion: "Auch in der Legende von Christus ist es leicht die Ansicht *eines getauften Juden* herauszufinden. . . . Eben so wenig kann er die Kreuzigung Christ's annehmen, weil sie in geradem Widerspruche mit der Gerechtigkeit Gottes steht, so wie auch mit der Geschichte aller übrigen Propheten, welche Gott stets aus jeder Gefahr befreit hat. Kein Mensch hat für die Sünden seines Nächsten zu büssen, heisst es im Koran, darum mochte wohl Christus ohne Todesfurcht sein Ziel verfolgen, Gott konnte aber ihn, den Unschuldigen, nicht zur Vergebung der Sünden Anderer auf eine so smachvolle Weise sterben lassen." ("Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner," *Einleitung*, pp. 8, 9.)

[4] There is a strange opinion current among some Muḥam-

and in the hour of death he has no comfort except such as the thoughts of his own fancied merits can give him. It is true that self-righteousness does in many cases give the Muslim courage[1] to face death with composure, but how miserable such self-confidence is, and how terrible the awakening when Eternity receives the disembodied spirit, clothed in its own vileness, and unwashed in the blood of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world!

Felt need of an Atonement.

The belief in the need of an Atonement has asserted itself, in spite of the Qur'ân, among many of the professed followers of the "Prophet." Just as in ancient Greece—and perhaps in those regions of Asia[2] in which the myth of Prometheus in its original form arose—it was felt that Man could not escape the eternal ruin which he by his sins had incurred, unless some one more[3] than human were

madans to the effect that on the Judgment Day each Muslim will be given an unbeliever whom he may cast into hell in his own stead. This is another example of the manner in which a yearning for a substitute, if not for a propitiation, asserts itself among Muslims, in spite of the express teaching of the Qur'ân. *V.* "Qiṣaṣu'l Anbiyâ," Pers. ed., p. 275; also Mishkât, Bombay (Arabic) ed., p. 487.

[1] *Vide* Dr. Cust's "Notes on Missionary Subjects," vol. ii., p. 60.

[2] Paley's Æschylus, p. 89.

[3] Promêtheus Desmôtês, vv. 1047-50:

"Τοιοῦδε μόχθου τέρμα μή τι προσδόκα,
Πρὶν ἂν θεῶν τις διάδοχος τῶν σῶν πόνων
Φανῇ, θελήσῃ τ' εἰς ἀναύγητον μολεῖν
Ἅιδην, κνεφαῖά τ' ἀμφὶ Ταρτάρου βάθη."

willing to bear great suffering in his stead; so among Muslims various supposed atonements have been eagerly accepted by many a perishing soul, conscious of guilt and longing for deliverance from the terrors which his own conscience as well as his religion told him await the unforgiven sinner. Hence some have held that Muḥammad's own death, which a Tradition tells us was one of intense agony[1] was in some manner an atonement for the sins of his followers. The Shî'ahs generally believe that the deaths of Ḥasan and Ḥusain[2] were propitiatory, and some at least among the Sunnis[3] agree with them in asserting that the martyred Ḥusain died at Karbalâ as their Redeemer. Others, unable to accept these theories, believe that asceticism will purify them from earthly desires and sinfulness. This idea has given rise to many orders of religious mendicants, Darvîshes and

Ḥasan and Ḥusain.

Sophocles, however, in the Œd. Col., expresses a belief in one human being atoning for many:

"Ἀρκεῖν γὰρ οἶμαι κἀντὶ μυρίων μίαν
Ψυχὴν τάδ' ἐκτίνουσαν, ἢν εὔνους παρῇ,"

(Œd. Col., 498-9); where the Scholiast explains τάδ' ἐκτίνουσαν by καθαρμὸν θεῖναι.

[1] Mishkât, "Bâbu 'Iyâdatu'l Marîdh," sect. i., p. 126: عن عائشة قالت ما رايت احد الوجع علية اشد من رسول الله صلعم.

[2] Stobart, "Islâm," p. 233, note; Hughes, "Dict. of Islâm."

[3] Stobart, *ibid.*

Faqîrs,[1] who are to be found in nearly every country where Muḥammadanism has established itself, and whose practices are often carried to the most extravagant pitch of absurdity. Many among these mendicant devotees have a very bad reputation indeed tor immoral conduct, but this is not in any degree considered as detracting from their supposed sanctity. There are, no doubt, many impostors among the ranks of such devotees, but there are undoubtedly not a few earnest and sincere souls who are driven by their consciousness of sin and unworthiness before GOD to seek for forgiveness and purification in this way. As an example of men of this class we may refer to Dr. 'Imâdu'd Dîn, once a leading champion of Muḥammadanism and a noted *Maulavî*, now a preacher of the Gospel of Jesus Christ at Amritsar in the Panjâb.

'Imâdu'd Dîn's case.

In his Autobiography[2] he tells us how, finding the outward ordinances of Muḥammadanism[3] unable to satisfy[4] the yearning of his soul for com-

[1] Hughes, *ut supra*, "*Darvîsh*;" Osborn, "Islâm under Khalîfs," pp. 92, sqq.

[2] "A Muḥammadan Brought to Christ: being the Autobiography of the Rev. 'Imâdu'd Dîn, D.D." (Rev. R. Clark's translation, new edition: C. M. House, Salisbury Square, London, E.C. 1885.)

[3] *V.* 'Imâdu'd Dîn's "Autobiography," pp. 9-11.

[4] Besides the passage quoted in the text, the following extract may be of interest: "I retired into my private chamber, and with many tears I prayed for the pardon of my sins. I often went and spent half the night in silence at

munion with God and the assurance of acceptance with Him and the forgiveness of his sins, he first of

the tomb of Shâh Abû'l A'lâ. I used to take my petitions with joy to the shrine of Qalandar Bû 'Alî, and to the threshold of the saint Nizâmu'd Dîn, and often to the graves of the elders. I sought for union with God from travellers and *faqîrs*, and even from the insane people of the city, according to the tenets of the Ṣûfî mystics. The thought of utterly renouncing the world then came into my mind with so much power, that I left everybody and went out into the jungles, and became a *faqîr*, putting on clothes covered with red ochre; and wandered here and there, from city to city and f om village to village, step by step, alone, for about 2,000 *kôs* (3,500 miles), without plan or baggage. Faith in the Muḥammadan religion will never, indeed, allow true sincerity to be produced in the nature of Man; yet I was then, although with many worldly motives, in search only of God. In this state I entered the city of Karûli, where a stream called Cholida flows beneath a mountain, and there I stayed to perform the *Ḥisbu'l bahâr*. I had a book with me on the doctrines of mysticism and the practice of devotion, which I had received from my religious guide, and held more dear even than the Qur'ân. In my journeys I slept with it at my side at nights, and took comfort in clasping it to my heart whenever my mind was perplexed. My religious guide had forbidden me to show this book or to speak of its secrets to anyone, for it contained the sum of everlasting happiness. . . . I took up the book and sat down on the bank of the stream to perform the ceremonies as they were enjoined, according to the following rules:— The celebrant must first perform his ablutions on the banks of the flowing stream, and, wearing an unsewn dress, must sit in a particular manner on one knee for twelve days, and repeat the prayer called Jugopar thirty times every day with a loud voice. He must not eat any food with salt, or anything at all except some barley bread of flour lawfully earned,

all sought for a mediator, hoping to find one in Muḥammad. On inquiry it became clear to him

which he has made with his own hands, and baked with wood that he has brought himself from the jungles. During the day he must fast entirely, after performing his ablutions in the river before daylight, and he must remain barefooted, wearing no shoes; nor must he touch any man, nor, except at an appointed time, even speak to anyone. The object of it all is that he may meet with GOD, and from the longing desire to attain to this I underwent all this pain. In addition to the above, I wrote the name of GOD on paper during this time 125,000 times, performing a certain portion every day; and I cut out each word separately with scissors, and wrapped them up each in a little ball of flour, and fed the fishes of the river with them, in the way the book prescribed. My days were spent in this manner; and during half the night I slept, and the remaining half I sat up and wrote the name of GOD mentally on my heart, and saw Him with the eye of thought. When all this toil was over and I went thence, I had no strength left in my body; my face was wan and pale, and I could not even hold up myself against the wind. . . . I preached the Qur'ân constantly in the streets (of Karûli) and houses and mosques, and many people repented of their sins, and regarded me as one of the saints of GOD, and came and touched my knees with their hands. But still my soul found no rest; and, in consequence of the experience I had had, I only felt daily in my mind a growing abhorrence of the law of Muḥammad. . . . During the next eight or ten years, the examples of the Muḥammadan elders and their holy men and *maulavîs* and *faqîrs*, whom I used to meet, and my knowledge of their moral character, and of the thoughts that dwelt in their hearts, and their bigotry and frauds and deceits, and their ignorance, which I used to observe, altogether combined to convince my mind that there was no true religion in the world at all. I had got into the same state of mind that many learned

that the idea of Muḥammad's intercession was entirely devoid of any foundation in the Qur'ân itself; and he was thus left without hope, until he took refuge in the mysticism so popular among thoughtful Muslims dissatisfied with the popular creed. This led him to the practice of austerities and asceticisms of various kinds. "I began," he says, "to practise speaking little, eating little, living apart from men, afflicting my body, and keeping awake at nights. I used to spend whole nights in reading the Qur'ân. I put in practice all the special penances and devotions that were enjoined. I used to shut my eyes and sit in retirement, seeking by thinking on the name of GOD to write it on my heart. I constantly sat on the graves of holy men, in hopes that by contemplation I might receive some revelation from the tombs. . . . I used to go even to the dreamy and intoxicated fanatics in the hope of thus obtaining union with GOD. . . . In short, whatever afflictions or pain it is in the power of Man to endure, I submitted to them all, and suffered them to the last degree; but nothing became manifest to me after all, except that it was all deceit." After undergoing another more lengthy and severe course of austerities he says, "Still my soul found no rest;" and he became despairingly convinced "that there was no true religion in the world at all." In this

Muḥammadans have been in under similar circumstances."—*Ibid.*, pp. 12-14.

conviction he remained until the conversion to Christianity of a friend led him to study the Bible *in order* to convince his friend that Christianity was false. But in the providence of GOD the reading of His Word brought peace to 'Imâdu'd Dîn's heart and drew him to the feet of Christ.

Man's need of Salvation.

§ 7. Man's need of Salvation is clearly taught in the Qur'ân and is acknowledged by every Muslim. But their religion gives them an entirely false view of what salvation really is and in what it consists. The most common words used in Arabic for *salvation*, نَجَاةٌ (najâh) and خَلَاصٌ (khalâṣ) strictly mean "escape" and "deliverance." If a Muslim be asked *from what* he hopes to be saved, his reply will generally be "From the punishment of my sins." If a mystic he will more probably say, "From intellectual ignorance of the Nature of GOD," or "from want of Union with Him." The latter view is allied to that of the Hindû Pantheists, who believe that they are really *parts*, so to speak, of GOD, and differ from Him only as the[1] rain-drop differs from the ocean, from

[1] The same metaphor is used by the Ṣûfîs, who are very numerous in Persia especially. (*V.* Osborn, *ut supra*, p. 100.) The following verses from the Maṣnavi contain the Pantheistic idea very clearly expressed :—

قُرب نی بالا وپستی رفتن است
قُرب حق از قیدِ هستی رستن است

("Lubb-i Libâb," p. 102) : that is, "To approach near to GOD is not to go up or to go down : to approach the Truth

which it has sprung and towards which it tends. In this respect it is altogether alien to the principles of the Muḥammadan faith, which teaches that the Creator is separated from His creatures, as far as essence is concerned, by an impassable gulf. Although Pantheistic ideas assert themselves very extensively among Muslims, especially among those prone to Mysticism, yet we need not discuss them here.

The main point to which each and every answer regarding the meaning of Salvation to the Muḥammadan mind calls attention, is that the Muslim does not believe that it denotes, and must necessarily denote, *deliverance from the bondage of Sin*. Our Lord has taught us this very clearly by saying, "Whosoever committeth[1] sin is the slave of sin," and before His birth the angel Gabriel announced that Christ's name should be called Jesus, "for[2] He shall save His people FROM THEIR SINS." Muḥammadanism has no such Saviour, no such hope, no such teaching of the true nature of

(*i.e.*, God) is to escape from the prison of existence." The Persian poet Ḥâfiẓ is supposed to signify the soul's search for GOD in his verses, which, taken in their literal sense, are erotic and bacchanalian. Quum Dei amorem laudare velint, *ἔρωτος* (عِشق) metaphorâ utuntur poetae mystici praesertim Persici, eo tamen modo ut *numen* feminae, *cultor* antem mariti partes agat.

[1] John viii. 34: "Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ποιῶν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν δοῦλός ἐστι τῆς ἁμαρτίας."

[2] Matt. i. 21.

Salvation from *punishment* sought.

the deliverance for which all men long. The followers of the "Prophet" hope to find a way in which they may be enabled to escape the tortures of hell and gain admission into the gardens of Paradise. But we have already seen that they desire no change in their nature, no purification of heart, but rather the bestowal of greater power to enjoy the sensual pleasures there provided for them. For this among other reasons the Muḥammadan creed can satisfy no human soul that is really athirst for the Living GOD and that, conscious of its own pollution and the thraldom of sin, longs for purity and hungers for true righteousness and peace with GOD.

The Muslim Paradise.

§ 8. The descriptions which Muḥammad gave to his followers of the reward of the righteous in the life after death were admirably calculated to allure the Arab temperament, and to incite his fellow-countrymen[1] to strive manfully to attain the happiness which he promised them, if they would "fight in the way[2] of GOD." Yet, however well suited for their immediate purpose, these descriptions are of such a nature that, in the minds of all sober and thoughtful men, and still more in those

[1] See examples in Wâqidî's "Futûḥu'sh Shâm," and in all Muḥammadan histories; also Gibbon, &c.

[2] قَاتِلُوا فِى سَبِيلِ ٱللّٰهِ (Sûrah ii. 186, *et passim*). Sûrah xlvii. distinctly holds out the enjoyment of corporeal pleasures in the next world as an inducement to fight for the spread of Islâm.

of all really earnest seekers for the truth, they do more than almost anything else to show that Islâm is not from God. This will be seen if we read a few verses from one or two of the passages in the Qur'ân, in which Muḥammad professes by Divine authority and inspiration to depict the lot of the justified in Paradise. For instance, in Surah lv., vv. 46 *sqq.*, both men and genii are given an account of the pleasures of Paradise and the torments of hell, and after every detail comes in the refrain, "Which then of your Lord's benefits do ye both falsely deny?" Omitting the repetition of this frequently recurring strain, the passage runs thus :—

"And for him who feareth the tribunal of his Lord are two gardens, dowered with branches. In each of them two fountains flow. In each of them there are of every fruit two kinds. (The Just) recline upon couches of which the inner lining is of brocade; and the fruit of the two gardens hangs low. In them are (maidens[1]) restraining their glances, whom neither man nor demon hath approached[2] before them. They are as it were rubies and pearls. Is the recompense for kindness other than kindness? And besides these two there are two (other) gardens—dark green. In each of them are two fountains stream-

[1] The word is supplied from the context, and from the *fem.* adjj. connected with the understood subject of the verb.

[2] لَمْ يَطْمِثْهُنَّ, *non stupravit eas.*

ing abundantly. In each of them are fruits and palms and pomegranates. In them are (maidens) good, beauteous, Houries enclosed in pavilions, whom neither man nor demon hath approached before them. (The Just) recline on green pillows and beautiful carpets. Blessed be the name of thy Lord, possessed of glory and honour."

Joys of the Justified.

Again in Sûrah lvi., vv. 11 *sqq.*, we are given a similar account of the future joys reserved for "the Companions[1] of the Right Hand" on the day of the Resurrection, to which is added some description of the woes which "the Companions[2] of the Left Hand" shall suffer. Of the former class it is said: "These are those who are brought nigh, in gardens of delight . . . Upon bejewelled couches; reclining upon them, facing one another. Upon them wait immortal youths, with goblets and beakers and a cup from a spring[3] (of wine). They do not suffer headache from it, nor do they become

[1] أَصْحَابُ ٱلْمَيْمَنَةِ or أَصْحَابُ ٱلْيَمِينِ, that is, "the righteous."

[2] أَصْحَابُ ٱلْمَشْأَمَةِ or أَصْحَابُ ٱلشِّمَالِ, that is, "the condemned."

[3] The context shows that *wine* is meant. "Rivers of wine" are mentioned in Sûrah xlvii. 16. Mystics endeavour to explain away the sensuality of these descriptions, as the commentator Muḥiyyu'd Dîn, *in loco*, who says: بأكواب وأباريق ـ من خمور الارادة والمعرفة والمحبّة والعشق والذوق ومياه الحكم والعلوم الخ.

exhausted (intoxicated). And with fruit of whatever kind they choose, and bird's flesh of whatever sort they desire. And there are large-eyed Houries like hidden pearls: a recompense for what they used to do. They do not hear in it any vain discourse, nor any charge of crime: only the word Peace, Peace (or Salutation[1]). And the Companions of the Right Hand, what of the Companions of the Right Hand? In a thornless Lotus-tree,[2] and a flower-bedecked Acacia, and widespread shade, and streaming water, and with abundant fruit not cut off and not forbidden, and in raised couches.[3] Verily We[4] have produced these damsels[5] by a (peculiar) creation. Therefore We made them virgins, beloved, of equal age,[6] for the Companions of the Right Hand."[7] In vivid contrast with this scene of pleasure is the description of the tortures

[1] *Salâm*. In Arabic this practically *never* means "peace," but has become merely a word of greeting. It may be well to notice this fact in this and similar passages.

[2] A lotus-tree is said to stand on the right hand of GOD's throne in the seventh heaven. It is mentioned as سدرة المنتهى, "the impassable lotus-tree," in Sûrah liii., vv. 14 and 16, and it is said that no creature can pass it to approach the Throne. Muḥammad saw Gabriel standing beneath it on the night of the *Mi'râj*.

[3] Hoc vocabulum per metaphoram *uxores* etiam significat.

[4] That is, GOD.

[5] *Lit.* them (fem.)

[6] With their husbands.

[7] Other passages of the same nature are to be found in Sûrahs xlvii., xiii., iv., lxxxiii., &c.

reserved for the lost in the verses which immediately follow in the same Sûrah, vv. 40, *sqq.* "And the Companions of the Left Hand, what of the Companions of the Left Hand? In scorching[1] wind and boiling water, in the shadow of black smoke, not cool nor pleasant. Verily they were before that enjoyers of luxuries, and used to persist in great wickedness, and were wont to say, 'When we have died and become dust and bones, shall we verily be indeed raised to life? Shall our first ancestors *be so?*' Say thou, 'Verily the first and the last are indeed assembled at a fixed time of a well-known day. Then verily ye, O ye who err and falsely deny this, shall indeed eat of trees of *zaqqûm*,[2] and shall fill your bellies with it. Then ye shall drink thereupon boiling water, then shall ye drink as drink raging she-camels.'[3] This shall be their fare on the Day of Judgment."

Tortures of the Damned.

Influence of such ideas.

The joys of Paradise as described in these and many other passages in the Qur'ân have in all subsequent ages exercised a great influence over the minds of pious Muslims. This is evident from a study of history, and not least from the attention that has been paid to the collecting of Traditions in which fuller and still more enticing pictures of

[1] The well-known *sâmûm* (simoom) of the desert.

[2] A tree growing in Tahâmah which bears an intensely bitter almond.

[3] The word means female camels which, from disease, are suffering from a raging thirst.

Paradise and its Houries are drawn by the "Prophet" himself. Our delineation of the teaching of Islâm on this point would not be at all complete were we to make no reference to such Traditions. Speaking upon the subject of the rewards of the Just in the next world, Al Bukhârî (in his celebrated work entitled *Aṣ Ṣaḥîḥ*) and other Traditionalists tell us[1] that Muḥammad himself said, "In Paradise (*Al Jannat*) there are palaces made of pearl, in each palace are seventy abodes made of rubies, in each abode there are seventy houses of green emerald. In every house is a couch, on every couch are seventy beds of every colour, on every bed a spouse from the number of the large-eyed Houries. In every house there are seventy tables, on each table there are seventy kinds of food. In each house there are seventy slave-girls, and every morning when he is anxious for food the Muslim is given all that he desires besides. And verily, as for the first company that shall enter Paradise, their beauty shall be as that of the moon on the night when it is full . . .[2] Their vessels and their combs shall be of gold and silver, and their perspiration of musk. Every one of them shall have two wives,

Traditions on the subject.

Houries.

[1] *Vide* Ṣaḥîḥu'l Bukhârî and Mishkâtu'l Maṣâbîḥ under صفات الجنة "Descriptions of the Garden." These are well summarised in the Arabic edition of "Mîzânu'l Ḥaqq," from which I translate this passage (pp. 208, sqq.).

[2] Hoc loco unam omisi sententiam: "non spuent, nec nasum emungent, nec cacabunt."

the marrow in whose legs behind the flesh he shall see by reason of their beauty. And verily every man among the people of Paradise shall surely wed 500 Houries and 4,000 virgins and 8,000 divorced[1] women . . .[2] And verily there is in Paradise a market in which nought is bought or sold except the forms of men and women; then should any man wish for any form he enters into it. And verily there is no person[3] who shall enter Paradise at whose head and feet there shall not sit two of the large-eyed Houries, who shall sing to him with most charming voices,—men and genii shall hear it. And verily there are in Paradise steeds which fly with their rider wherever he wishes. And verily the inhabitants of Paradise have horses and camels nimble of pace, and their bridles and saddles shall be of rubies. And verily, as for any man among the inhabitants of Paradise, truly children shall be born to him just as he may desire: their conception and weaning and prime shall take place in one single hour. And verily the people of Paradise are smooth and beardless, white and curly-haired, with eyes as if tinged with collyrium. They shall be thirty-three years of age, as was Adam at his creation: their height shall be sixty

Horses, Camels: Children.

[1] Vocabulum ثَيِّبٌ mulierem denotat, quae primum post coitum a marito divortium acceperit.

[2] Hoc loco aliam omisi sententiam: "e quibus quamque amplexabitur quot annos in hoc mundo vixerit."

[3] *Lit.*, "no slave" (of God).

cubits, with a breadth of seven cubits. And verily if a woman from among the women of Paradise were to come down to the earth, she would indeed illuminate and fill all the space between heaven and earth with perfume, and indeed her head-band upon her head is better than this world and all that is in it. And verily her face in her veil is clearer than a mirror, and verily the least precious jewel upon her would indeed illumine all between east and west. And verily she has upon her seventy garments. And verily thou shalt indeed look upon the birds in Paradise and shalt desire to eat one of them: accordingly it shall fall down before thee roasted. And verily the people of Paradise shall be waited upon with seventy dishes of gold, each dish among them shall have a colour which no other has. And they shall have in addition the liver of the Fish,[1] and for them shall be slaughtered the Ox[2] of Paradise which was wont to feed in its borders. And verily one of them shall be given the ability of one hundred men in eating and drinking . . ."[3] Besides all this the "Prophet"

A Woman of Paradise.

[1] The name of this fish is said to be *Nûn* (= "fish").

[2] Its name is Balâm. Sale ("Prelim. Disc.") well points out that this tradition, as well as the other, according to which the highest felicity is that of those who behold God's face, is borrowed from the Jews. *Vide* Gemara, *Tânith*, p. 25; Berâkôth, p. 34; and Midrâsh Shabbôth, p. 37: also A. Geiger, "Was hat Muḥammad aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen."

[3] Post haec adiectum est: "et in coitu."

is reported to have said, "I beheld Paradise, and lo! I saw one of its pomegranates as large as the back[1] of a camel laden with a pack-saddle, and lo! its birds were like Bactrian camels!"

Hell. The tales which Muḥammad told of the delights of Paradise were equalled by the ghastly horrors with which he surrounded the future state of all who should reject his claims. A few particulars have been already quoted from the Qur'ân, and it is unnecessary to add to this what the Traditions say. The picture is not so much terrible and grand as horrible and disgusting, especially as the "Prophet" gloats—nay, we may almost say that he represents GOD as gloating with him—over the infinitude of the tortures of the damned.[2] From all this we gladly turn away, merely observing that the hearts of all learned Muslims have long been troubled by one passage in the Qur'ân in which, speaking of hell, GOD is represented as saying to Muḥammad,[3] "There is none of you but shall arrive at it; it has become a determined decree

[1] The word may also mean "the udder."

[2] Sûrah lxxxiii., vv. 34, 35: فَٱلْيَوْمَ ٱلَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنَ ٱلْكُفَّارِ يَضْحَكُونَ عَلَى ٱلْأَرَآئِكِ يَنْظُرُونَ. See also al-Baidhâwî's comment on the passage.

[3] Sûrah xix., v. 72: وَإِنْ مِنْكُمْ إِلَّا وَارِدُهَا كَانَ عَلَى رَبِّكَ حَتْمًا مَقْضِيًّا. For some of the Muḥammadan explanations, see Sale's note *in loco*, also Al Baidhâwî's and Muḥiyyu'd Dîn's commentaries.

upon thy Lord." Many explanations are given of the verse, but none seems satisfactory, and hence every Muḥammadan has to face the terrible prospect of going once to hell, even though he may ultimately be delivered from it. For, although it is very frequently asserted in the Qur'ân that the lost shall endure *eternal*[1] torment in hell, yet it is believed that all Muslims, even those guilty of the most terrible crimes,[2] after a period varying in proportion to their guilt, will ultimately be in some manner delivered from hell-fire[3] and admitted into Paradise, there to enjoy in varying degrees that peculiar kind of pleasure most in accord with their carnal nature.

All Muslims ultimately Saved.

We must confess that many learned and pious Muslims[4] have endeavoured to explain away the sensual colouring of the Paradise described by Muḥammad. Al Baidhâwî,[5] for example, en-

Mystics' explanations of Delights of Paradise.

[1] *E.g.*, Sûrah lxxxii., vv. 14-16; Sûrah ii. 37; &c., &c.

[2] All sins are divided into grievous (كبير) and venial (صغير): the grievous are, according to Al Baidhâwî, seven in number, *viz.*, idolatry, murder, bringing a false accusation of adultery against a woman, wasting the property of orphans, taking usury, desertion in a *Jihâd*, and disobedience to parents.

[3] Sale, "Prelim. Disc.," sect. iv.

[4] As, for instance, Muḥiyyu'd Dîn, Al Baidhâwî, and Al Ghazzâlî.

[5] Quoted in "Rusûm-i Hind," part II., cap. ii., p. 264, note 4.

deavours to prove that the association of the Muslim with the damsels of Paradise is merely Platonic. This we leave unprejudiced readers of the Qur'ân to decide, merely observing that most[1] Muḥammadans refuse to think so. Al Baidhâwî also says[2] that the *pure* wine promised in the Qur'ân to the Just is called *pure* because the taste of it causes those who drink it to lose all inclination towards all pleasures but the delight of the Beatific Vision. Al Ghazzâlî[3] believes that

Beatific Vision.

the vision of GOD Himself morning and[4] evening is the *additional* reward promised in Sûrah X. 27[5] to the pious; and Muslim[6] the Traditionalist gives the following Tradition on the authority of Ṣuḥaib, one of the "Prophet's" friends, in support of the same explanation:—"The Prophet said, 'When the people of Paradise enter Paradise, GOD Most High shall say, Do ye wish Me to give you

[1] Sale, "Prelim. Disc.," sect. iv.

[2] Comment. on Sûrah lxxxiii., vv. 25, sqq.

[3] Quoted by Pocock, in Not. ad Portam Mosis, p. 305 (Sale, "Prelim. Disc.," sect. iv.)

[4] Mishkât, "Ḳitâbu'l Fatan, Bâbu Ru'yati'llâh," p. 493. It may well be doubted whether Muḥammad ever uttered the sayings imputed to him about the Beatific Vision; but if he did, he undoubtedly borrowed the idea from the Jews, and then carnalised and materialised it.

[5] Sûrah x. 27: لِلَّذِينَ أَحْسَنُوا الْحُسْنَىٰ وَزِيَادَةٌ.

[6] Mishkât, "Kitâbu'l Fatan, Bâbu Ru'yati'llâh," pp. 492, 493.

anything more? Then they shall say, Hast not Thou whitened our faces, hast not Thou caused us to enter Paradise and saved us from hell-fire? Then He shall raise the Veil, and they shall look upon GOD's face, nor shall they be given anything more dear to them than to behold their Lord.'"

Such passages, if we read them in a Christian sense, sound very noble, though they raise in our minds the question how they are to be reconciled with the sensual descriptions we have mentioned above. But to understand such phrases in a Christian sense would be as great a mistake as to imagine that the Hindû religion is essentially the same as the Christian in its teaching regarding GOD and the New Birth, because in both the terms "Union with GOD"[1] and "twice born"[2] are used. This will be plain if we study the whole[3]

Error of understanding such phrases in a Christian sense.

[1] *Yoga:* hence a certain class of ascetics are called *yôgîs.*

[2] *Dvi-ja:* the three upper castes are so styled.

[3] Many of them seem strongly to support the opinion of those who have held that Muḥammad had a very anthropomorphic idea of GOD. *E.g.*, the two following (Mishkât, "Bâbu Ru'yati'llâh," pp. 492, 493): (*a*) عن جرير بن عبد الله قال رسول الله صلعم انّكم ستَرَوْنَ ربّكم عياناً وفى رواية قال كُنّا جلوساً عند رسول الله صلعم فنظر الى القمر ليلة البدر فقال انّكم ستَرَوْنَ ربّكم كما تَرَوْنَ هٰذا القمر لا تضامّون فى رؤيتهِ * (*b*) عن ابى رزين العقيلى قال قلتُ يا رسول الله اكُلّنا يرى ربّهُ مخلياً بهِ يوم القيامة - قال بلى - قلتُ - وما آية

of the Traditions in which Muḥammad speaks of the Vision of GOD. But perhaps the following Tradition will suffice for our purpose. "The Apostle of[1] GOD said, 'Verily the least of the inhabitants of Paradise in position is he who shall indeed behold his gardens and his wives and his pleasures and his servants and his couches extending over the space of one thousand years' journey, and the most acceptable of them with GOD shall look upon His face night and morning.' Then he recited (Sûrah LXXV. vv. 22, 23): 'Faces in that day shall be bright, looking upon their Lord.'" Here we see that the very same passage which tells of the Vision of GOD mentions also the carnal delights of which we have already spoken, and represents GOD as approving of His servants' indulgence in them. Such an idea is not more dishonouring to GOD than certain to prevent all purity of heart, nay all desire to attain to it, among the orthodox followers of the "Prophet" of Islâm.

ذلك فى خلقهِ - قال - يا ابا رَزين اليس كُلّكم يرى القمر ليلة البدر مُخليًّا بهِ - قال بلى - قال فانّما هو خلقٌ من خلق اللهِ والله اجلّ واعظمُ - رواه ابو داود .

[1] Mishkât, p. 493: قال رسول الله صلعم - انّ ادنى اهل الجنّة منزلةً لمن ينظُرُ الى جِنّانهِ وازواجه ونعيمهِ وخدمهِ وسُرُرهِ مسيرة الف سنّة واكرمهم على الله من ينظر الى وجههِ غُدْوَةً وعشيّةً - ثمّ قرا - وُجُوهٌ يَوْمَئِذٍ نَاضِرَةٌ - اِلى ربّهَا نَاظِرَةٌ .

§ 9.—It would take us far too long were we to attempt to mention all the defects in the Muḥammadan faith and all the points where it is vulnerable and practically indefensible. But we may briefly refer to a few matters of importance. One of these is the absurd cosmogony believed in by Muslims on the authority of their Prophet. It is said[1] that the "Prophet" told his people that the earth was originally made out of the foam of a wave which GOD created from a gigantic pearl, and that He made that pearl out of primitive darkness. The colour of the sky is said to be due to the fact that over the earth towers a gigantic mountain named Qâf, which is made of emerald. The circumference of this mountain is 2,000 years' journey. Around the earth lies coiled a snake that is 2,000 years' journey in length. The earth consists, like the heaven, of seven storeys, and the whole mass rests between the horns of a bull. This animal is said to be named Kajûta, and he has no less than 4,000 horns, the distance between any two of these being 500 years' journey. His feet rest upon a fish which swims in water 40 years' journey deep. Another tradition has it that the earth is supported on an angel's head, who stands upon a rock of ruby. This rock rests upon the Bull, who has as many eyes, noses, ears, mouths

Other Defects in Islâm.

The Earth's Formation.

Mt. Qâf.

The Bull.

[1] "Qiṣaṣu'l Anbiyâ," Pers. ed., pp. 4-6. Other accounts are also given in this book and in the "'Arâisu't Tîjân," pp. 5-9.

and tongues as he has horns. It would be profitless to repeat any more of such nonsense.

Historical Inaccuracy of the Qur'ân.

Another source of weakness in Islâm is the terrible historical[1] inaccuracy of the Qur'ân. One or two examples of this may suffice. The Virgin Mary is said to be the sister of Aaron,[2] and daughter of *'Imrân*,[3] the Arabic form of *Amram*. The story of the Seven Sleepers is told as a[4] fact, and firmly believed in by all Muslims. We are assured that God held up Mount Sinai over the heads[5] of the Israelites and thereby terrified them into accepting the Law. Besides innumerable fables of this kind—as for instance, that about

Queen of Sheba.

Solomon[6] and Balqîs, queen of Sheba—the Qur'ân contradicts the Bible in a multitude of places. Many of these passages show the ignorance of the writer, while others are an evidence that he intentionally rejected whatever Jewish or Christian doctrines did not please him. This is a great argument against Muḥammadanism, because the

[1] Weil ("Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner," Vorrede, p. iii.) says: "*Geschichte* kann das Werk eines Muselmannes über seinen Propheten nicht genannt werden." This is true of Muḥammadan ideas of all prae-Islâmic history also.

[2] Sûrah xix. 29.

[3] Sûrah iii. 31.

[4] Sûrah xvii.

[5] Sûrah ii. 60, and Sûrah vii. 170.

[6] Sûrah xxvii. 22-45.

Qur'ân in many places asserts that it was revealed to[1] *confirm* the Law and the Gospel.

Islâm Destitute of Proof.

§ 10.—Finally, Islâm—like all other false religions—is entirely destitute of proof. In spite of Muḥammadan arguments to the contrary,[2] it has neither previous prophecies nor attendant[3] miracles to confirm the lofty claims of Muḥammad to be considered as the Seal of the Prophets and the bearer of GOD's final and perfect Revelation to Mankind. Its results are not those of a Heaven-descended creed. Its doctrines are in many cases an insult to reason, and at their best cannot satisfy or cleanse the heart. It may for a time continue to exercise its baneful sway over the hearts and consciences of men, but nothing can be clearer to any one who has had any personal acquaintance with the Muḥammadan world, than that Islâm, whether in any one of its present forms[4] or in that which it had when given by Muḥammad himself, is one of those creeds which are doomed to extinction.

Doomed to Extinction.

[1] As, *e.g.*, Sûrah ii. 130; Sûrah v. 45-52; &c. *Vide* Sir W. Muir's "Testimony of the Coran," *passim*.

[2] See some of these in "Mìzânu'l Mawâzìn," and in Sayyid Aḥmad's "Essay on the Prophecies respecting Muḥammad," *passim*.

[3] Muḥammad acknowledged this (Sûrah vi. 109, xiii. 8), but his followers do not. *Vide* Mishkât, "Kitâbu'l Fatan, Bâb fi'l Mu'jizât," pp. 522-536.

[4] I use the plural because of the immense number of sects into which the Muḥammadan world is divided. (*V.* Ash Shahristânî, and also the *Dabistân-i Mazâhib*.)

Whether its place will be taken by another false religion or by the true Revelation of GOD, it does not lie with us to say. In spite of the fact that Muḥammadans speak of Christ with deep reverence and acknowledge Him to be a Prophet, yet they know nothing of His Divine Sonship, His atoning Death, His prevailing Intercession, His abiding Presence with His people. In the Saviour's place stands Muḥammad, in the opinion of Muslims, and his character forms their highest ideal of virtue, purity and goodness. Islâm is an Anti-Christian faith, a Christless creed; and it has preserved, in the life and character of its Founder, an enduring principle of degradation.

An Anti-Christian Faith.

LECTURE III.

THE ORIGIN OF ISLÂM.

"Der Prophet hat auch nicht Einen neuen Gedanken in die Welt geworfen, wie er denn auch ursprünglich nichts Neues bringen sondern den alten Glauben Abrahams, der nach seiner Meinung durch eine Menge zufälliger Gebräuche verändert worden war, herstellen wollte. Abgesehen von einer Reihe christlicher und persischer Vorstellungen finden wir im Koran wesentlich jüdische Gedanken... Das ganze Leben ist in religiöse Formen eingeschlossen: tägliche Gebete, Festtage, Wallfahrten, Fasten, Enthaltung von gewissen Speisen und äussere Reinigungen. Das ist die Religiosität, mit welcher Mohammed bekannt wurde, und sie hat auf seine Stiftung so grossen Einfluss geübt, dass wir sagen müssen: Der Islâm ist nicht eine neue Religion, auf ein neues Princip gebaut, sondern nur eine Vermengung des einseitig gewordenen Judenthums mit arabischem Heidenthum."—HAURI, *Der Islâm*, pp. 43, 44.

LECTURE III.

THE ORIGIN OF ISLÂM.

In the previous lectures of the present course we have dealt with the doctrines which form the strength of Islâm, and have also referred to some of the defects in that system of religion, defects so numerous and so serious as to neutralise the truths with which they are indissolubly associated in the Religion of Muḥammad, and to render it a curse to humanity and not a blessing. We now pass on to the consideration of the Origin of Islâm and the attitude in which it stands to the revealed Religion of Christ.

Islâm must have had an Origin.

§ 1.—The great philosophical poet of Rome, following the teaching of the Greek[1] sage whom he regarded as his master, declares that nothing[2] can spring from nothing. And although we are far from wishing to draw from this principle the conclusions which Lucretius himself does, yet no

[1] Epicurus. *Cf.* Lucretius, "De Rerum Natura," lib. i. 67, sqq.: "Primus Graius homo mortales tollere contra Est oculos ausus, primusque obsistere contra"; *cf.* also lib. v., *initio*.

[2] Lib. i., vv. 151, sqq.

one can deny that the words embody a very important truth. Certain[1] English writers of the present time, led astray by the false liberalism of the day, have gone so far as to term Muḥammad "a very Prophet of[2] God." But even such writers as these would readily acknowledge that the Muḥammadan idea that their Qur'ân, like another Minerva, sprang full-armed from the head of Jove—or in other words that it is entirely of Divine and not of human authorship—is erroneous. The Religion of Islâm again owes very much to the personality[3] of Muḥammad, without whom, had it arisen, it would undoubtedly have been very different from what it is. Yet, making all proper allowance for this fact, we are obliged to conclude nevertheless that Muḥammad must have been, like all of us, to a considerable degree the creature of his environment, and that he did not invent the main features of the religion which he founded, but borrowed his materials to a great extent from pre-existing systems,[4] though building

Personality of Muḥammad.

[1] *E.g.*, Thomas Carlyle, "Heroes and Hero-Worship," Lect. ii., and Mr. Bosworth Smith, "Mohammed and Mohammedanism."

[2] Bosworth Smith, *op. cit.*, 2nd ed., p. 344.

[3] B. Smith, "Mohammed and Mohammedanism," p. 12.

[4] V. Renan, "Études d'Histoire Religieuse"; Geiger, "Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?"; B. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 100; Sayyid Aḥmad, "On the Religions of the Pre-Islâmic Arabs," p. 15, &c.

these materials into a more or less harmonious structure according to his own plan and the exigencies of his position. A candid examination of Islâm as it is taught us in the Qur'ân and in the authoritative Traditions of the "Prophet," and a comparison with those other systems of religion with which Muḥammad came more especially in contact, will enable us to learn the origin of the Faith and to appreciate the measure of originality which may be ascribed to it.

Religions of the pre-Islâmic Arabs.

§ 2.—When Muḥammad appeared, the Arabs were by no means devoid of religious tenets. Although certain Hamitic[1] elements had doubtless mingled with the Semites in the South and East, yet the members of the tribe from which Muḥammad sprang (that of the Quraish), together with all the rest of the Arab inhabitants of Northern and Western Arabia, were undoubtedly of purely Semitic[2] descent. Some traced their family to Joktan, others to Ishmael, and others to Abraham's children by Keturah. It has well been pointed[3] out that, whatever may have been the case with

[1] Grau, "Ursprünge und Ziele unserer Kulturentwickelung," cap. iv., &c.

[2] Hauri, "Der Islâm," cap. i.; Grau, pp. 133, sqq.; Sayyid Aḥmad, "Essay on the Hist. of Mecca," and "On the Hist. Geography of Arabia." *V.* also Tabarî, Ibn Hishâm, &c.

[3] Renan, "Histoire générale et Système comparé des Langues Sémitiques," liv. i, ch. i.

nations of a different stock, the ancient religion of the Semites was Monotheistic. Many Semitic tribes, like the Assyrians, the Phœnicians, and even the Hebrews themselves at more than one period of their history, fell into Polytheism and idolatry through contact with the Hamites; but the process was a very gradual one, and in many cases the names of the deities worshipped of themselves prove that they had their origin in Monotheistic conceptions.[1] The Northern Arabs especially seem to have preserved their pristine faith in a fair degree of purity up to a comparatively late period. We find among them no such deities[2] as the Baal, Ashtoreth,[3] Moloch, Ammon, worshipped in Canaan. If Professor Plumptre[4] and others are right in believing in the Arabian origin of the Book of Job, that wonderful work[5] shows us that Monotheism was only just beginning to be affected in the minds of the Arabs of the early age in which the book was written by Sabæan ideas and the

[1] Renan, *loc. cit.*

[2] Grau, p. 134.

[3] A deity whose name is written עתתר is mentioned, along with others, in early Arabian inscriptions. But the form of the name in each case shows that the deity in question was introduced from *Syria*, and was not a native Arabian god.

[4] "Biblical Studies," pp. 174, sqq.; Canon Cook's article on Job in Smith's "Bible Dictionary;" &c.

[5] Job xxxi. 26-28.

worship of the host of heaven. Herodotus[1] informs us that in his day the Arabs had two principal deities, Orotál and Alilát. The former of these names is doubtless a corruption of Allâh[2] Ta'âla' (GOD Most High), while the latter is the goddess Al Lât[3] mentioned in the Qur'ân. Knowing how very inaccurate most of the classical writers are in their accounts of the religions of other nations (of which Tacitus' description of the Jewish worship in the Temple at Jerusalem[4] is a fair example), we cannot depend very much on this statement of "the Father of History" as a proof that Polytheism was already prevalent among the Arabs generally. Indeed the very name Allâh Ta'âla' GOD Most High, in which the word *Allâh* is exactly equivalent to ὁ Θεός[5] in

[1] Herodotus, lib. iii., cap. viii., "*Διόνυσον δὲ θεὸν μοῦνον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην ἡγεῦνται εἶναι . . . . ὀνομάζουσι δὲ τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον 'Οροτάλ, τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίην 'Αλιλάτ.*"

[2] أَللّٰهُ تَعَالَى. Regarding this title, *Allâh ta'âla'*, Weil says, speaking of the pre-Islâmic Arabs : ". . . hörten aber dabei nicht auf, an ein höchsten Wesen zu glauben, welches vor Mohammed schon *Allahu taala* gennant ward." ("Mohammed der Prophet," p. 18.) Sir W. Muir ("Life of Mahomet," p. xvii., note) agrees with this.

[3] أَللَّاتُ, Sûrah liii. 19.

[4] Taciti Histt., lib. v., capp. 3, 4 : "Effigiem animalis" (*asini*), "quo monstrante errorem sitimque depulerant, penetrali sacravere."

[5] The Arabic word *Allâh* (أَللّٰهُ) is a contraction of *al*, the definite article, and *ilâh*, "God." The word *without* the article, like the Greek *θεός*, may be used of false gods.

Greek, is at any rate significant of the fact that the One True God was still worshipped. The same fact is clear from the name *Beitu'llâh*[1] or "House of God" given from very early times to the Ka'aba at Mecca, a shrine to which Diodorus[2] informs us all the Arab tribes, even in his own time, paid great respect. And in the celebrated collection of poems called "Mu'allaqât," which have come down to us from pre-Islâmic times, we find this name of God with the article repeatedly occurring.[3] More-

[1] بَيْتُ ٱللّٰهِ, equivalent to the Hebrew *Beth-el* (בֵּית־אֵל), *except* that the word *GOD* in the Arabic name *has* the article. *V.* Sayyid Aḥmad, "Ess. on Hist. of Mecca," p 6.

[2] *Ἱερον ἁγιώτατον ἵδυται τιμώμενον ὑπὸ πάντων Ἀράβων περιττότερον.* (Diod. Sic., lib. iii.)

[3] *E.g.*, An Nâbighah (Dîwân, poem I., vv., 23, 24:—

لَهُمْ شِيمَةٌ لَمْ يُعْطِهَا ٱللّٰهُ غَيْرَهُمْ
مِنَ ٱلْجُودِ وَٱلْأَحْلَامُ غَيْرُ عَوَازِبِ
مَحَلَّتُهُمْ ذَاتُ ٱلْإِلٰهِ وَدِينُهُمْ
قَوِيمٌ فَمَا يَرْجُونَ غَيْرَ ٱلْعَوَاقِبِ

And again, poem III., vv. 9 and 10:—

أَلَمْ تَرَ أَنَّ ٱللّٰهَ أَعْطَاكَ سُورَةً
تَرَى كُلَّ مَلْكٍ دُونَهَا يَتَذَبْذَبُ
بِأَنَّكَ شَمْسٌ وَٱلْمُلُوكُ كَوَاكِبُ
إِذَا طَلَعَتْ لَمْ يَبْدُ مِنْهُنَّ كَوْكَبُ

over, such names as 'Abdu'llâh,[1] "Servant of GOD," borne by Muḥammad's father, who died before his son's birth, bear testimony to the same fact. Ibn Isḥâq, the earliest biographer of Muḥammad whose work has come down to us, in speaking of the religion of the ancient Arabs, says that the tribes of Kinânah and Quraish,[2] when performing the ceremony termed *Ihlâl*, used to address the Deity in these words, "Labbeika Allâhumma"— "We are present in Thy service, O GOD, we are

So also in poem VIII., vv. 5 and 6 :—

وَنَحْنُ لَدَيْهِ نَسْأَلُ ٱللّٰهَ خُلْدَهُ
يَرُدُّ لَنَا مُلْكًا وَلِلْأَرْضِ عَامِرَا
وَنَحْنُ نُرَجِّي ٱلْخُلْدَ إِنْ فَازَ قِدْحُنَا
وَنَرْهَبُ قِدْحَ ٱلْمَوْتِ إِنْ جَآءَ قَاهِرَا

Labîd has also the following verses which support what we have said in the text :—

لَعَمْرِكَ مَا تَدْرِي ٱلضَّوَارِبُ بِٱلْحَصَى
وَلَا زَاجِرَاتُ ٱلطَّيْرِ مَا ٱللّٰهُ صَانِعُ

[1] *V.* Ibn Hishâm, Abu'l Fidâ, &c., on Muḥammad's parentage.

[2] Quoted in Ibn Hishâm's "Sîratu'r Rasûl," Egyptian ed., pp. 27, 28 of part i. :—فَكَانَتْ كِنَانَةُ وَقُرَيْشٌ إِذَا أَهَلُّوا قَالُوا لَبَّيْكَ ٱللّٰهُمَّ لَبَّيْكَ لَبَّيْكَ لَا شَرِيكَ لَكَ إِلَّا شَرِيكَ هُوَ لَكَ تَمْلِكُهُ وَمَا مَلَكَ

present in Thy service! Thou hast no partner except the partner of Thy dread; Thou ownest him and whatsoever he owneth,"—thus declaring[1] their belief in the unity, or at any rate the supremacy, of GOD. Various local cults prevailed in different parts of the peninsula, and among some tribes religion had fallen very low. Yet Monotheism was in most if not in all parts of Arabia at least theoretically recognised. The Arabic writer Ash Shahristânî speaks[2] thus on the subject. "The

Ash Shahrastânî's Evidence.

[1] This is Ibn Isḥâq's explanation of the words, for he says, فَيُوَحِّدُونَهُ بِٱلتَّلْبِيَةِ. He does not, however, explain what is meant by "the partner of Thy dread" (شَرِيكَ هَوْلِكَ).

[2] Ash Shahristânî (in his work entitled الملل والنحل, quoted by Abû'l Fidâ, "Hist. Ante-Islamica," Fleischer's edition, pp. 178-181; *vide* also Krehl, "Über die Religion der vorislamischen Araber," pp. 4, *sqq.*) says: والعرب الجاهليّة اصناف فصنف انكروا الخالق والبعث وقالوا بالطبع المحيى والدهر المفنى كما اخبر عنهم التنزيل وقالوا ما هى الّا حياتنا الدنيا نموت ونحيا . . . . وصنف اعترفوا بالخالق وانكروا البعث . . . . وصنف عبدوا الاصنام وكانت اصنامهم مختصّة بالقبائل فكان .ودّ لكلب وهو بدومة الجندل وسواع بهذيل ويغوث لمذحج ولقبايل من اليمن ونسر لذى الكلاع بارض حمير ويعوق لهمدان واللات لثقيف بالطائف والعزّى لقريش وبنى كنانة ومناة للاوس والخزرج وهُبَل اعظم اصنامهم وكان هُبَل على ظهر الكعبة وكان اساف ونائلة على الصفا والمروة وكان منهم من يميل الى اليهود ومنهم من يميل الى

Arabs of pre-Islâmic times," he tells us, "may, with reference to religion, be divided into various classes. Some of them denied the Creator, the Resurrection, and men's return to GOD (to be judged), and asserted that Nature possesses in itself the power of bestowing life, but that Time destroys. Others believed in a Creator and a creation produced by Him out of nothing, but yet denied the Resurrection and the return to GOD. Others[1] believed in a Creator, a creation and some

النصرانيّة ومنهم من يميل الى الصابئة ويعتقد فى انواء
المنازل اعتقاد المنجّمين فى السّيارات حتّى لا يتحرّك الّا
بنوء من الانواء ويقول مطرنا بنوء كذا وكان منهم من يعبد
الملئكة ومنهم من يعبد الجنّ وكانت علومهم علم الانساب
والانواء والتواريخ وتعبير الرويا وكان لابى بكر الصدّيق رضى الله
عنه فيها يد طولى وكانت الجاهليّة تفعل اشياء جاءت شريعة
الاسلام بها فكانوا لا ينكحون الامّهات والبنات وكان اقبح شئ
عندهم الجمع بين الاختين وكانوا يعيبون المتزوّج بامرأة
ابيه ويسمّونه الضيزن وكانوا يحجّون البيت ويعتمرون ويطوفون
ويسعون ويقفون المواقف كلّها ويرمون الجمار وكانوا يكبسون
فى كلّ ثلث اعوام شهراً ويغتسلون من الجنابة وكانوا يداومون
على المضمضة والاستنشاق وفرق الراس والسواك والاستنجا
وتقليم الاظفار ونتف الابط وحلق العانة والختان الخ

[1] Speaking of this class of Deists in ancient Arabia, Sayyid Ahmad says that they "believed in God, the resurrection, salvation, immortality of the soul, and its reward or punishment according to the actions of men; but they did

kind of returning of men to GOD, but denied GOD's Prophets and worshipped false gods, concerning whom they believed that in the next world they would become *mediators* between themselves and GOD. For these deities they undertook pilgrimages, they brought offerings to them, offered them sacrifices and approached them with religious rites and ceremonies. Some things they held to be Divinely permitted, others to be prohibited. This was the religion of the great majority of the Arabs." Krehl[1] tells us that nearly all Arabic authors agree in holding that "the descendants of Abraham from the very beginning professed the same Monotheistic religion that Abraham had done, and they ascribe the falling away from this 'Religion of Abraham' solely to the influence of the Devil."

not believe in prophets and revelations." And, again, "It was no very desperate struggle between Islâm and the second" (*i.e.*, the one just mentioned) "of the two sects of Arabian deism, for the doctrines of this sect, *plus* the doctrine of revelations, were very nearly identical with the main principles of Islâm." (Essay on the Religions of the pre-Islâmic Arabs, pp. 5 and 14.) Ash Shahristânî's evidence with reference to the religious and moral condition of the pre-Islâmic Arabs is worthy of special attention, because as a Muḥammadan he would naturally be inclined to take an unfavourable view. Yet what he says is sufficient to show how much other Muḥammadan writers, and even Sayyid Amîr 'Alî in his "Life and Teaching of Muḥammad," exaggerate the evils of the time in their attempt to do honour to their "Prophet." In this they are too often rashly followed by European writers on the subject.

[1] *Op. cit.*

Arabs worshipped gods of second rank as Mediators.

§ 3.—Although a pure Monotheism no longer prevailed among the Arabs[1] at the time when Muḥammad began his work as a Reformer, yet it would be quite incorrect to describe them as Polytheists in the same sense as the ancient Greeks and Romans, the Teutons and Scandinavians, and even the Hindūs of the present day may be called such. Though others besides GOD received Divine honours in Arabia—some deified men, others perhaps personified powers of Nature, and the heavenly bodies,—yet all such objects of adoration occupied quite a secondary[2] rank, and were regarded as being in every way entirely subject to GOD Most High.[3] But the Arabs worshipped these inferior deities as *mediators*[4] with GOD, believing that they were especially dear to Him, and would undoubtedly prevail in their intercession with GOD on behalf of those devotees

[1] Except, of course, among the Jewish and Christian tribes,—if the corrupt faith of the latter at that time can be correctly called a "pure monotheism."

[2] Weil, "Mohammed der Prophet," p. 18: "Übrigens betrachteten die Araber vor Mohammed ihre Götzen, welche theils Menschen- oder Thiergestalt hatten, theils als rohen, von dem Tempel zu Mecca herrührenden Steinen bestandet, nur als Götter *zwe.ten Ranges.*"

[3] This—أَللّٰهُ تَعَالَى, the אֵל עֶלְיוֹן of Gen. xiv. 18, 19, 22—is still one of the most usual titles of GOD among the Arabs.

[4] Sayyid Aḥmad, "Essay on the Manners and Customs of the pre-Islâmic Arabs," p. 13; Ibn Hishâm, "Sîratu'r Rasûl," Egypt. ed., p. 127; Sale, "Prelim. Disc."; &c.

who sought their favour. We may well compare the adoration offered to Al Lât, 'Uzza' and Manâh, the "daughters[1] of God" as they were termed, or to Wudd,[2] Ya'ûq Hubal, and other such semi-divine beings, with the saint-worship of the Roman and Greek Churches and the worship of the *Pîrs* or holy men by the great mass of Indian Muḥammadans at the present day. The word *Mushrikûna* used in the Qur'ân[3] to describe the adorers of such deities as these expresses this fact very well, meaning as it does not exactly "*Poly*theists," but rather "associators of *partners* with God."

Arabian Idolatry: its Origin.

§ 4.—It is well known that idolatry prevailed very largely, in Mecca especially, before the reforms instituted by Muḥammad. There are said to have been no less than 360 idols[4] in the Ka'aba itself, which had become a kind of Pantheon for that part of Arabia. But Ibn Isḥâq and Ibn Hishâm agree in stating that idolatry[5] had been introduced among the Arabs only a comparatively short period before, and inform us on the authority of Muḥammad himself that the person[6] who

[1] Sûrah xvi. 59: يجعلون لله البنات. *V.* also Sûrah liii., vv. 19, 20, 21, 28.

[2] *Vide* Abu'l Fidâ, "Hist. Ante-Islâmica," Fleischer's ed., p. 180.

[3] *E.g.*, Sûrah ix. 114, *et passim.*

[4] Muir, "Life of Mahomet," p. 423, note.

[5] "Sîratu'r Rasûl," Egyptian edition, pp. 27, sqq.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 27: إنّه كان اوّلاً من غيّر دين اسمعيل فنصب الاوثان . . .

introduced the first idol into Mecca was a certain 'Amr bin Laḥî. The story is that this man "went[1] from Mecca to Syria on some business of his, and when he reached a station in the district of Balqâ ... he saw them worshipping idols.[2] Then he said to them, 'What are these images that I see you worshipping?' They said to him, 'These are idols which we worship; and we ask them for rain and they rain, or if we ask their aid they assist us.' Then he said to them, 'Will you not give me one of these idols? and then I shall go with it to the land of the Arabs and they will thereupon worship it.' They therefore gave him an idol which was called Habal (or Hubal). He brought it to Mecca and set it up there, and commanded people to worship and glorify it." Another introducer of false religion into Mecca is said to have been

[1] *Ibid.*, Pt. I., p. 27, sqq.

[2] Peculiar veneration, almost amounting to worship, was even from very ancient times (Herod., iii. 8) paid to stones by the Arabs. Regarding this, Ibn Ishâq writes (p. 27): "They fancy that the first there was of the worship of stones among the children of Ishmael consisted in this, that no one of them used to travel from Mecca at a time of distress, when they were praying for relief, without taking with him one of the stones of the *Ḥaram*" (the Holy Temple) "as a sign of reverence for the *Ḥaram*; and wherever the travellers halted they set it up and performed the *Ṭawwâf* ceremony round it, as they did around the Ka'aba,—until this custom of theirs seduced them to whichever of the stones they approved of. And it pleased them to such an extent that their descendants degenerated, and forgot the religion which

Hudhail[1] bin Madrakah, of the same family as Muḥammad himself. This man lived only fifteen generations before the "Prophet." There must have been a strong feeling among the Arabs therefore that idolatry was wrong, and that it was an innovation which was directly contrary to the faith of those ancestors[2] of whom they were so proud. This being the case, and remembering that the worship of the One True GOD had never entirely ceased in the country, we are now able to understand how "Muḥammad[3] could come forward in the name of the supreme GOD of the nation, the GOD of Abraham, Who had been merely cast into the background by the overgrowth of local cults. In this respect the appearance of Muḥammad may be compared with the efforts of

they held, and they exchanged the religion of Abraham and of Ishmael for another. Then they worshipped idols, and turned to the same wandering from the right way as did the nations before them."

[1] Ibn Hishâm, p. 28.

[2] This of course rendered the influence of the Jews—of which we shall speak further on—very powerful. In fact, it is difficult to exaggerate the degree to which the maintenance of a belief in Monotheism in Arabia before Muḥammad's time is due to that of the various Jewish tribes in the country. Muḥammad also doubtless felt confirmed in his Monotheism through their teaching, even if we do not attribute to the Jews the credit of having taught the "Prophet" this important truth.

[3] Grau, *ut supra*, pp. 137, 138.

the Old Testament Prophets, when they rendered Jehovah, Who was still remembered in Israel, a living power, in opposition to the prevailing idolatry. As the work of Moses, however, would be historically unintelligible without presupposing a Religion of Abraham, or the labours of Elijah without the presupposition of the revelation at Sinai,—so also would the establishment of Islâm be without the hypothesis of a monotheistic basis." Whatever credit therefore may be justly due to Muḥammad for firmly re-establishing the worship of One God in Arabia, we cannot regard him as having *introduced* Monotheism into the country for the first time.

Origin of Islâmic Rites.

§ 5.—An examination of the religious rites and ceremonies of the pre-Islâmic Arabs is also important as an evidence of the great indebtedness which Muḥammadanism acknowledges to them. Most of the rites and ceremonies which form as it were the outward expression or the garb of Islâm at the present day were practised in the country from time immemorial. The Arabic historian Abu'l Fidâ, treating of this subject, well says,[1]

[1] "Hist. Ante-Islâmica," Fleischer's ed., p. 180: كانت الجاهليّة تفعل اشياء جاءت شريعة الاسلام بها فكانوا لا ينكحون الامّهات والبنات وكان اقبح شىء عندهم الجمع بين الاختين وكانوا يعيبون المتزوّج بامراة ابيهِ ويسمّونهٌ الضّيزن وكانوا يحجّون البيت ويعتمرون ويُحرِمون ويطوفون ويسعون ويقفون المواقف كلّها ويرمون الجمار وكانوا يكبسون فى كُلّ ثلث

"The Arabs of the time of Ignorance[1] used to do things which the religious law of Islâm adopted; for they used not to wed their mothers or their daughters, and among them it was deemed a most detestable thing to marry two sisters; and they used to revile the man who married his father's wife . . . . . . ; and they used to make the Pilgrimage to the House" (the Ka'abah), "and visit holy places, and wear the *Iḥrâm*,[2] and perform the *Ṭawwâf*,[3] and run" (between the hills As Safâ and Al Marwâ), "and stand at all the Stations[4] and cast stones" (at the devil in the valley of Minâ); "and they were wont to intercalate a month every third year."[5] The same writer goes on to say that

اعوام شهرًا ويغتسلون من الجنابة وكانوا يداومون على المضمضة والاستنشاق وفرق الرّأس والسّواك والاستنجاء وتقليم الاظفار ونتف الابط وحلق العانة والختان وكانوا يقطعون يد السّارق اليمنى

[1] That is, the times before the promulgation of the Law of Islâm.

[2] The pilgrim's garb. It consists of a kind of sheet wrapped round the body.

[3] The ceremony of going round the Ka'abah a fixed number of times.

[4] The principal of these are Mounts 'Arafât and Al Muzdalifah, near Mecca.

[5] Similarly, Ibn Isḥâq says: وفيهم على ذٰلك بقايا من عهد ابراهيم يتمسكون بها من تعظيم البيت والطّواف بهِ والحجّ والعمرة والوقوف على عرفة والمزدلفة وهدي البدن والاهلال بالحجّ والعمرة مع ادخالهم فيهِ ما ليس منهُ (Egypt. edition, p. 27, Pt. I.)

ceremonial washings, religious cleansing of the teeth, and circumcision were also in vogue among the Arabs long before Muḥammad's time. In this he is supported by many other Muḥammadan writers, among others by Ibn Isḥâq.

The Ka'abah.

The "Holy [1] Temple" or the "House of GOD," as the Ka'abah at Mecca was and is still called, was, as has already been said, the central shrine of the whole Arabian nation in ages long anterior to Muḥammad,[2] just as it is the holiest of all the holy places visited by the pious Muḥammadan of to-day. Then as now the reason stated for this was the supposed fact that Abraham and Ishmael had worshipped there and had built the first temple erected [3] on that spot. Worship was offered to GOD (as well as to idols) within it; and one peculiar method of showing their devotion was by running round the shrine in a state of nudity.[4] Muḥammad retained this ceremony of *Ṭawwâf*, as it is called, but ordered the pilgrims to perform it when clad in the single garment, the

[1] *Masjidu'l Haram.*

[2] See Sayyid Aḥmad, "On the Religions of the Pre-Islâmic Arabs" and "On the History of Mecca;" Abu'l Fidâ, At Ṭabarî, &c.

[3] Ibn Hishâm, p. 29. Other traditions attribute the first building of the Ka'aba to Adam, and others say it came down from heaven. *Vide* "'Arâish ut Tîjân," "Qiṣaṣu'l Anbiyâ," "Dabistânu'l Maẓâhib," especially the Bombay ed. of latter work, pp. 15 and 16.

[4] Sayyid Aḥmad, *ut supra*, Muir, Weil, &c.

Iḥrâm, which constitutes the dress of a pilgrim. Into the wall of the Ka'abah was built, at some distance from the ground, the famous *Ḥajaru'l Aswad* or Black Stone,—which the pilgrims kissed[1] in token of deep reverence if not of actual worship,[2] just as they still continue to do at present. So many tales are related among Arabian traditions regarding the origin and history of this Black Stone, that it is impossible to detail them all here, or to decide what the truth of the matter is. But in pre-Islâmic times, as at the present day, it was popularly believed that this stone came down from Paradise, that it was originally of a pure white[3] colour, but the sins of mankind or the touch of one ceremonially impure rendered it black.

Our space will not allow us to dwell here upon the general habits of the Arabs in and before the time of Muḥammad. Their love of and proficiency in poetry, their lawlessness and courage and love of liberty, their revengefulness and hospitality are well known. Polygamy and slavery were in vogue among them, and were[4] sanctioned in the Qur'ân

[1] Sayyid Aḥmad, &c.

[2] A very good account of the religion of the pre-Islâmic Arabs is given in Dr. Koelle's "Mohammed and Mohammedanism," pp. 17, sqq.

[3] At Tirmidhî.

[4] *E.g.*, Sûrah iv. 3, 28, 29; Sûrah xxxiii. 48-53; Sûrah ii. 220—238; &c. See also Mishkât, *Kitâbu'n Nikâḥ*.

for all time. But Muḥammad seems to have added nothing to the horrors of these evil practices, nay rather to have improved his people to some degree by fixing limits—though very wide ones—to the number of wives and concubines permitted to his followers, and by encouraging rather than hindering the manumission[1] or kindly treatment of slaves. Against the cruel practice of female infanticide[2] he uttered strong and effectual denunciations. War[3] he sanctioned, especially when undertaken for the propagation of the Creed of Islâm.

The Hanifites.

§ 6.—Muḥammad was not the first to be impressed with the evils of idolatry as then practised at Mecca, nor was he the earliest to attempt to introduce a very radical reform in this respect. Arabian writers tell us that, shortly before his time, a small number of earnest and pious citizens of Mecca had ventured to oppose the corrupt religion of their nation. The chief of these were Waraqah bin Naufil, 'Ubaidu'llâh bin Jaḥsh, 'Uthmân binu'l Ḥuwairith and Zaid bin 'Amr. These four men met together in private on a great

[1] *E.g.*, Sûrah xxiv. 33. *V.* Mishkât, *Kitâbu'l 'Itq.*

[2] Sûrah lxxxi. 8, 9; xvi. 60, sqq.; xvii. 33. But the Kâtibu'l Wâqidî, p. 255, tells us that Zaid the Ḥanif used to discourage this practice, and offer himself to support female children if spared.

[3] Mishkât, *Kitâbu'l Jihâd*: Qur'ân, Sûrah iv. 76, 88; viii. 40, 62, 66; xlvii. 4, 5 (reading قاتلوا); &c. &c.

yearly festival day, on[1] which the Quraish were accustomed to meet together and offer sacrifices to one of their idols, and entered into a compact of firm friendship with one another. Ibn Isḥâq tells us that they "said one to another, 'Know that your nation is[2] devoid of the true religion, and they have sinned against the religion of their father Abraham. What is a stone that we should circle around it? It neither hears nor sees, neither injures nor profits. O ye people! seek [the truth] for yourselves, for indeed, (we swear) by GOD, ye are based upon nothing.' Then they separated from one another and went into different lands seeking for Orthodoxy, the Religion of Abraham. As for Waraqah, he became firmly established in Christianity, and followed the Scriptures belonging to the people of that faith until he gained much information regarding the People of the Book. 'Ubaidu'llâh remained in his confusion of mind until he became a Muslim. Then he fled to Abyssinia along with the Muslims, and with him went his wife, a Muslim woman, daughter of Abû Sufyân. And when he brought her thither he became a Christian and left Islâm, and he perished there a Christian. . . . 'Uthmân went to Caesar, Emperor of Rûm" (the Byzantine Empire), "and

[1] Ibn Hishâm, "Sîratu'r Rasûl," Pt. I., pp. 76, 77.

[2] فقال بعضهم لبعض تعلموا والله ما قومكم على شىء literally, "Is based upon nothing," *i.e.*, with regard to religion.

became a Christian, and he obtained a good position at the Emperor's court. . . . Zaid remained firm and did not enter either the Jewish or the Christian fold, but he left the religion of his people, abstained from idolatry,[1] from eating dead carcases and blood, and from the sacrifices which were offered to the idols, and he forbade the slaughter of female infants who used to be buried alive. He said, 'I worship the Lord of Abraham'; and[2] he blamed his nation for the faults they persisted in. . . . Asmâ, daughter of Abû Bakr, used to say, 'I saw Zaid when a very old man[3] leaning upon the central part of the Ka'abah outside and saying, 'O Assembly of the Quraish, by Him in Whose hand is the soul of Zaid bin 'Amr, none of you has attained to the Religion of Abraham but I myself.' "

When we remember that, of these four *Ḥanîfs* or 'Orthodox[4] believers,' two, Waraqah and 'Uthmân, were cousins[5] of Khadîjah, Muḥammad's

[1] In all these and other matters, Muḥammad was Zaid's disciple.

[2] Compare this whole speech of Zaid's with Sûrah iii. 19, and cf. Rodwell's note *in loco*.

[3] He died only five years before Muḥammad's supposed call to be a prophet.

[4] The word حنيف, pl. حنفاء, from a root meaning *to incline*, is thus rendered by Penrice, "Dict. of the Qur'ân."

[5] Muir, "Life of Muḥammad," new edit., pp. 33, 34.

first wife, while 'Ubaidu'llâh the third was *his*[1] cousin, and the fourth, Zaid bin 'Amr, after being expelled from Mecca, resided for many years upon Mount Ḥirâ, whither Muḥammad used, during his early years of married life, to retire every year for some weeks of prayer and meditation,[2]—we are naturally led to conclude that these Ḥanîfs, earnest and truth-seeking men as they were, must have exercised a very great influence upon the mind of the future 'Prophet.'

This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that, as Ibn Isḥâq[3] tells us, Muḥammad, while believing himself forbidden to pray for his own mother, yet, when asked by a female relative of Zaid whether she might pray for the latter after his death, answered, "Yes, for he will be raised as a distinct religious community at the Resurrection-Day." Muḥammad married Umm Ḥabîbah, 'Ubaidu'llâh's widow.[4] In the Qur'ân he not only uses the title Ḥanîf as a word of praise, but speaks of Abraham by this appellation;[5] and he taught his people that the religion he founded was the Religion[6] of

[1] Muir, *ut sup.*, p. 34. Both statements follow from the genealogy of these men as given by Ibn Hishâm, Pt. I., p. 76.

[2] Muir, p. 35; Koelle, "Mohammed and Mohammedanism," p. 26, &c. &c.

[3] "Sîratu'r Rasûl," Pt. I., p. 77.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Sûrah xvi. 121; Sûrah iv. 124; &c.

[6] Sûrah iv. 124; iii. 89; vi. 162.

Abraham, the very faith which the Ḥanîfs had determined to seek until they found it. The fact that he thus adopted the chosen appellation of these reformers is very significant, and shows how much he felt himself indebted to them for the first impulse[1] which urged him to endeavour to reform the faith of his nation, and to bring them back to that religious unity without which they could not become so politically united together as to preserve[2] that independence which has always been so dear to the heart of every true child of the deserts of Arabia.

Sabaeans and Jews.

§ 7.—In endeavouring to eliminate from the religion of his fellow-countrymen all unworthy accretions, however, Muḥammad doubtless found that he had undertaken no easy task. Even when a Reformer strives to induce people to give up what is contrary to the express teaching of their Holy Books, he does not find them in most cases at all ready to do so. But the Arabs in general had no Scriptures which all were agreed to revere. The

[1] Cf. Koelle, *op. cit.*, pp. 47, sqq.

[2] Ibn Isḥâq (*Sîratu'r Rasûl*, Egypt. ed., Pt. I., pp. 145, 146) tells us that, after the death of Khadîjah, Abû Ṯâlib summoned the chiefs of the Quraish and Muḥammad to an interview, with a view to an amicable agreement, and Muḥammad then told them that by embracing the faith which he taught they would not only gain their freedom, but would rule all the rest of the Arabs and the Persians also:— فقال رسول الله صلعم نعم يا عم كلمة يعطو فيها تملكون بها العرب وتدين لكم بها العجم .

Sabaeans seem to have had some apocryphal[1] writings which have not come down to us; but Arabia contained many varieties of religious belief, and Muḥammad, when he began his work, could not appeal to any volume the authority of which was universally recognized. There were other "book-religions" besides the Sabaean well represented in the country. The Jews were then a great power[2] in Arabia, being very numerous and constituting many distinct and powerful tribes, as the Banî Quraidhah, the Banî Qainuqâ'a, the Banî Nadhîr, and many others. Their political union enabled them in after years to oppose Muḥammad by force of arms when he endeavoured to compel them to submit to his claims. Although they do not seem to have been distinguished for learning,[3] yet they doubtless preserved their ancestral veneration for the books of the Old Testament, and there

[1] Abû'l Fidâ, "Hist. Ante-Islamica," ed. Fleischer, p. 148, writes thus: ذكر امّة السريان والصّابيين من كتاب ابى عيسى المغربىّ قال امّة السريان هى اقدم الامم .... وملّتهم هى ملّة الصّابيين ويذكرون انّهم اخذوا دينهم عن شيث وادريس - ولهم كتاب يعزونهُ الى شيث ويسمّونهُ صُحُف شيث. He goes on to tell us that they worshipped seven times a day, that five of their times of prayer corresponded with those of the Muslims, and that they honoured the Ka'abah.

[2] R. Geiger, "Was hat Muhammad," &c., pp. 6-9 *et alibi*.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

can be no doubt that many Talmudic legends and tales lived in the mouths of the people. Muḥammad found that their possession of inspired books gave the Jews a position of great religious importance in the eyes of his countrymen, especially as they were undoubtedly descended from Abraham the Friend[1] of GOD, and possessed far more authentic information about the honoured patriarchs, so dear to all true Semites, than did the Arabs, who nevertheless prided themselves on preserving to some extent the Religion of Abraham. If he could succeed in gaining the Jews over to his side, therefore, and could persuade them to acknowledge that the Qur'ân was in accord with the teaching of their own Holy Books, Muḥammad felt that his cause would be won. He therefore made every effort to induce them to favour his prophetic claims, even going so far at one time as to make[2] Jerusalem instead of Mecca the *Qiblah* or point to which one's face should be turned when worshipping GOD. Again and again does he profess that his[3] religion is the same as that which "the People of the Book" had received by Divine revelation. It was only when

[1] This title of Abraham (خليل الله) is founded on Sûrah iv. 124: وَاتَّخَذَ اللهُ إِبْرٰهِيمَ خَلِيلًا.

[2] Koelle, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-130; Muir, "Life of Mahomet," new ed., p. 192

[3] Sûrah lxi. 6; Sûrah ii. 118-131, esp. v. 130; Sûrah xlii. 11, 14, &c.

all such efforts had entirely failed that he turned against the Jews with the far more powerful argument of the sword.

nfluence of Talmudic 'udaism on uḥammad

§ 8.—The Qur'ân shows in the clearest manner possible how much of his teaching Muḥammad borrowed[1] from the Jews, while professing to have received it by revelation from GOD through the archangel Gabriel. Yet it would be a mistake to suppose that Muḥammad[2] was personally acquainted with the Hebrew Scriptures, or that he learnt much from them except indirectly. His Jewish friends, such as Waraqah, who had for some time professed[3] Judaism,—Ḥabîb bin Malik, and above all 'Abdu'llâh ibn[4] Sallâm, were doubtless far better acquainted with tales from the Talmud than with the canonical Scriptures. We

[1] *Vide* Geiger, "Was hat Mohammed aus d. Judenthume aufgenommen?" *passim*, and examples further on.

[2] Muḥammad is called ٱلنَّبِيّ ٱلْأُمِّيّ in Sûrah vii. 156. Muslims generally render this by "the *unlettered* Prophet," and say he could not read or write. This, however, is hardly credible. A better rendering is "the Gentile Prophet," *i.e.* one who did not belong to "the People of the Book," and was unacquainted with the scriptures of the earlier prophets.

[3] Ibn Isḥâq. He afterwards became a Muslim; but when Muḥammad left the doctrines of the Ḥanîfs, Waraqah left him, and died a Christian. (Rodwell, Korân, pref., p. xvii.)

[4] R. Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. 24; Abû'l Fidâ, "Annales Moslemici," i. 283.

are not therefore surprised to find that the accounts which Muḥammad gives us in the Qur'ân regarding Scripture characters agree far more closely with Talmudic legends than with the facts recorded concerning these persons in the Old Testament itself. This will be seen from a few examples.

Examples.

The Qur'ân (Sûrah V., vv. 30—35) informs us that when "the sons of Adam" had offered each his sacrifice to God, and when that of Abel was accepted and Cain's rejected, Cain[1] said to Abel, "Verily I shall slay thee." Abel replied, "Truly God accepteth from the pious. Verily if thou stretchest forth thine hand to slay me, I shall not stretch forth my hand against thee to slay thee; for truly I fear God, the Lord of the Worlds. Truly I would rather that thou shouldst draw down upon thyself my sin and thy sin; then thou wilt be among the Companions of Hell-fire, and that is the recompense of the wicked." "Accordingly," we are told, Cain's "spirit impelled him to the slaughter of his brother: therefore he slew him; then he became one of those who suffer loss. Therefore God sent a raven to scratch in the earth, to show him how he might conceal the injury done to his brother. He said 'Woe is me! am I unable to be like this raven? then I would conceal the wrong done to my brother.' He then

Cain and Abel.

[1] The names of these "sons of Adam" are not mentioned, however, in the Qur'ân. Muslims call them Qâbîl and Hâbîl.

became of the number of the penitent. On that account We have written for the Children of Israel that whoever killeth a person except for murder or evildoing in the land, then it shall be as if he had slain all mankind; and whoever saveth a life, then it shall be as if he had preserved all men alive." Jewish traditions[1] give us various accounts of this imaginary conversation between Cain and Abel, some of them not very unlike the one recorded in these verses. But with reference to the fable of the raven that taught Cain how to bury his brother's body, it agrees with the Jewish account given in the "Pirke Rabbi Eliezar," except that the Jews believed that the body was buried under similar instruction by Adam instead of by Cain. "Adam[2] and his helpmeet were sitting, weeping and lamenting over him (Abel), and they knew not what to do with Abel, for they were not acquainted with burial. A raven, one of whose comrades had died, came. He took him and dug in the ground and hid it (the body) before their eyes. Adam said, 'I shall do as the raven has

[1] *Vide, e.g.*, Jonathan ben Uzziel's Targum on Gen. iv. 8.

[2] Pirke R. Eliezar, cap. xxi.: היו אדם ועזרו ישבים ובוכים ומתאבלים עליו ולא היו ידעים מה לעשות להבל שלא היו נהונים בקבורה. בא ערב אחד שמת לו אחד מחבריו לקח אותו וחפר בארץ וטמנה לעיניהם. אמר אדם כעורב אני עשה מיד לקח נבלתו של הבל וחפר בארץ וטמנה: (Quoted by R. Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. 103.)

done.' Immediately he took Abel's dead body, and dug in the ground and concealed it." But although the fact that Muḥammad, though making this blunder[1] in details, borrowed this fable from the Jews is sufficiently clear, yet if anything can make this plainer it is a comparison of the concluding verse of the above extract from the Qur'ân with the following passage from the Mishnah :—"We[2] have found, in (the verses which refer to)

[1] Muḥammad's blunders with regard to Scriptural personages are very remarkable, and seem to prove that his information was gained at second hand, and from some not very learned source. *E.g.*, he tells us that *Haman* was Pharaoh's *wazír!* (Sûrah xl. 38, xxviii. 5) in Joseph's time, instead of being Ahasuerus' favourite. Again, 'Imrân (*i.e.*, Amram) is called (Sûrah iii. 31) the father of the Virgin Mary; and, to make this clearer, Mary is termed (Sûrah xix. 29) the sister of Aaron! (Of course, Muḥammadan commentators make various efforts to escape from confessing this blunder, for which *vide* Sale's notes *sub loco.*) *Vide* also the story of Moses and Al Khiḏhr, and that of Dhû'l Qarnain in Sûrah xviii. The latter personage is generally supposed to be Alexander the Great. The maker of the Golden Calf in Sûrah xx. (vv. 87, 90, 96) is called "the Samaritan," ٱلسَّامِرِيّ, &c.

[2] Mishnah Sanhedrin, iv. 5: מצינו בקין שהרג את אחיו נאמר בו קול דְּמֵי אָחִיךָ צֹעֲקִים. אינו אומר דַּם־אָחִיךָ אלא דְּמֵי אָחִיךָ דמו ודם זרעיותיו לפיכך נברא אדם יחידי ללמדך שכל־המאבד נפש אחת מישראל מעלה עליו הכתוב כאלו אבד עולם מלא וכל־המקים נפש אחת מישראל מעלה עליו הכתוב כאלו קים עולם מלא (Quoted by R. Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. 104.)

Cain who slew his brother, that it is said, 'The voice of thy brother's *bloods* (*pl.*) crieth,' etc. He does not say 'of thy brother's *blood*' (*sing.*) but 'of thy brother's *bloods*' (*pl.*), *i.e.* of his blood and of the blood of his descendants. Therefore Man was created single in order to teach thee that everyone who destroyeth one soul from Israel, against him the Scripture accounteth it as if he had destroyed the whole world full; and everyone who preserveth alive one soul from Israel, in reference to him the Scripture accounteth it as if he had preserved alive the whole world full." It will be seen that the latter part of this clause is translated almost quite literally in the Qur'ân, while the previous portion of it is needed to connect the Arabic verse of which we are speaking with that which immediately precedes it.

Abraham.

Muḥammad's account of Abraham's being cast into the fire and miraculously delivered from it is in almost every detail borrowed from the Midrâsh Rabbâh. The tale is told in a fragmentary manner in several portions[1] of the Qur'ân, but the Jewish account forms a continued story and runs as follows:—"Terah[2] was a maker of

[1] *Vide* Sûrah ii. 260; Sûrah vi. 74; Sûrah xxi. 52-72 (especially this latter passage); Sûrah xix. 42-50; Sûrah xxvi. 69-79; Sûrah xxix. 15; Sûrah xxxviii. 81-95; Sûrah xliii. 25-27; Sûrah lx. 4.

[2] Midrash Rabbah to Genesis, Par. 17: תרח עובד לצלמים היה. חד זמן נפק לאתר הושיב לאברהם

idols. Once he went away somewhere and seated Abraham in his place as salesman. A man came desiring to purchase, and Abraham asked him, 'How old art thou?' He replied, 'I am fifty or sixty years of age.' Abraham said to him, 'Woe to that man who is sixty years of age and desires to worship that which is only a few days old.'

מוכר תחתיו. הוה אתי בר־אנש בעי דיזבן והוה אמר לה בר כמה שנין את והוה אמר לֵהּ בר חמשין או שתין והוה אמר לה וי לה לההוא גברא דהוהבר שתין ובעי למסגד לבר יומי. והיה מתביש והלך לו. חד זמן אתת חדא אתתא טעינא בִידָהּ חדא פינך דסלת אמרת לֵהּ הא לך קרב קדמיהון. קם נסב בקלסא בִידֵהּ ותברנהון לכלהון פסיליא ויהב בקלסא בידא דרבא דהוא ביניהון. כון דאתא אבוהי אמר לֵהּ מן עבד להון כדין אמר לֵהּ מה נכפל מנך אתת חדא אתתא טעינא לָה חדא פינך דסלת ואמרת לי הא לך קרב קדמיהון. קרבת לקדמיהון. הוא דין אמר אנא איכל קדמי ודין אמר אנא איכל קדמי. קם הדין רבא דהוא ביניהון נסב בקלסא ותברנון. אמר לֵהּ מה אתה מפלה בי? וידעין אנון? אמר לֵהּ ולא ישמעו אזניך מה שפיך אמר. נַסְבֵהּ ומסרֵהּ לנמרוד. אמר לֵהּ נסגד לנורא. אמר לֵהּ אברהם ונסגד למיא דמטפין נורא. אמר לֵהּ נמרד נסגד למיא. אמר לֵהּ אם כן נסגד לעננא דטעין מיא. אמר לֵהּ נסגד לעננא. אמר לֵהּ אם כן נסגד לרוחא דמבדר עננא. אמר לֵהּ נסגד לרוחא

The purchaser became ashamed of himself and went away. Once a woman came bringing in her hand a basin of wheaten flour, and said to him, 'Here! set this before them.' He arose, took a stick in his hand and dashed all the images in pieces; then he gave the stick into the hand of the biggest among them. When his father returned he said to Abraham, 'Who has done this to them.' Abraham rejoined, 'What is hidden from thee? A woman came bringing a basin of wheaten flour, and said to me, "Here, place this before them." I offered it to them. One said, "I shall eat first," and another said, "I shall eat first." This one, who was the largest of them, took a stick and broke them in pieces.' His father said, 'Why dost thou tell me fables?—do these know anything?' Abraham replied, 'Do thine ears hear what thy lips say?' Terah seized him and handed him over to Nimrod. Nimrod said to him, 'Let us worship the fire.' Abraham replied, 'Then let us worship the water which extinguishes the fire.' Nimrod assented. Abraham rejoined, 'If so, let us worship the cloud which brings the water. Nimrod said, 'Well, let us worship the cloud.'

אמר לֵהּ ונסגד לבר־אנשא דסבל רוחא. אם מלין
את משתעי אני איני משתחוה אלא לאור הרי אני
משליכך בתוכו. ויבא אֱלֹהֵ שאתה משתחוה לו
ויצילך ממנו. ירד אברהם לכבשן האש ונצול:

(Quoted by R. Geiger, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 124.)

Abraham replied, 'If so, let us worship the wind that scatters the cloud.' When the king assented, Abraham said that it would be better to worship man who could withstand the wind. 'If thou bandiest words with me,' said Nimrod, 'I do not worship anything but the fire, into the midst of which I shall cast thee, and let the God whom thou servest come and deliver thee from it.' Abraham went down into the furnace of fire, but was delivered."

Other Talmudic Legends.

Muḥammad does not mention Nimrod,[1] and he calls[2] Abraham's father Âzar[3] instead of Terah, but these and a few slight differences in details serve to prove that he related the story from memory, and probably that it was not *read* to him but that he learned it from the oral traditions of his Jewish friends. In nearly all the tales that he borrows from this source, his blunders[4] show that he was

[1] But Muḥammadan commentators, following the Jews, do.

[2] In the newly-published "Testament of Abraham" (M. R. James, M.A.; Cambridge Texts and Studies, vol. ii., no. 2) will be found several tales about that Patriarch which re-appear among Muslims to-day, though some of the incidents are referred to *Idrîs*, others to Muḥammad himself, and others again to various holy personages. *Vide* Appendix C.

[3] Various conjectures as to the origin of this blunder have been made. It is known that certain of the Jewish Rabbis term Abraham's father Zârah (Talmud), and probably Muḥammad, hearing this name, formed Âzar from it by unintentional transposition of the letters.

[4] Some few of these we have quoted above, but others

not able to gain his information from written documents. Intentional alterations of the Jewish legends do, however, sometimes occur, and this was done in order to substantiate his assertion that Islâm was the Religion of Abraham and virtually of all the Prophets. There are, as Rabbi Abraham Geiger has pointed out, a number of Aramaic[1] words in the Qur'ân, which have much puzzled Arabic commentators, and which are another proof of Muḥammad's indebtedness to Talmudic lore. Several of the less important doctrinal matters mentioned in the Qur'ân are also borrowed, in whole or in part, from the same source. As

may be found by reading the Qur'ân. The erroneous forms of names, among other matters, seem best explained on this supposition. His informants doubtless had access to written documents, but rather to the Targums and Talmud than to the Hebrew Scriptures.

[1] A few Hebrew words also occur, but we may class all together. *E.g.*, תּוֹרָה = تَوْرَاةٌ ; תֵּיבָה, תֵּיבוּתָא = تَابُوتٌ ; חָבֵר = حِبْرٌ (in the sense of *teacher* = *separated from the common people* in the Mishna) ; גֵּי הִנּוֹם = جَهَنَّم ; גַּן עֵדֶן = جَنَّةُ عَدْنٍ ; שְׁכִינָה = سَكِينَةٌ ; טָעוּת, ܛܥܘܬܐ = طَاغُوتٌ ; מָעוֹן = مَاعُونٌ ; פֻּרְקָן, ܦܘܪܩܢܐ, ܦܪܩܢܐ = فُرْقَانٌ ; מַלְכוּת = مَلَكُوتٌ. The explanations of فُرْقَانٌ, طَاغُوتٌ, سَكِينَةٌ, and مَلَكُوتٌ given by Muslim commentators agree far less aptly with the context than do the meanings of these words drawn from the Aramaic. (Geiger, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-60.)

examples[1] we may mention the existence of seven heavens and seven hells,[2] the fact that at the creation GOD's throne moved in the air over the waters,[3] the existence[4] of a "Prince of Hell," of Al A'râf or the wall between heaven[5] and hell, the fact that the Resurrection will be ushered in by a great[6] rain, that Hell[7] is never full, that evil

[1] Geiger, *ut sup.*, pp. 63, sqq.

[2] Sûrah xvii. 46, 88: ٱلسَّمَوَاتُ ٱلسَّبْعُ = שִׁבְעָה רְקִיעִין הֵן (Chagiga, ix. 2). Cf. Midrash at end of Ps. xi.: שבעה בתי דירות לרשעים בגיהנם, and שבעה פתחין אנון לגיהנם (Sohar ii., p. 150), with لَهَا سَبْعَةُ أَبْوَابٍ (Sûrah xv. 44).

[3] Sûrah xi. 9: كَانَ عَرْشُهُ عَلَى ٱلْمَاءِ = Rashi on Gen. i. 2.: כסא כבוד עמד באויר ומרחף על פני המים (cf. כִּסֵּא כָּבוֹד here with ٱلْعَرْشِ ٱلْمَجِيدُ in Sûrah lxxxv. 15).

[4] Called by the Rabbins שׂר של גיהנם; by Muslims his name is said to be Mâlik (Mishkât, Bâb *Ṣifatu'n Nâr wa Ahlihâ*, sect. ii., &c.).

[5] Sûrah vii. 44: وَبَيْنَهُمَا حِجَابٌ وَعَلَى ٱلْأَعْرَافِ رِجَالٌ. Cf. Midrash to Ecc. vii. 14: כמה ריוח בינידם? (Heaven and Hell) רבי יוחנן אמר כתל. רבי אחא אמר טפח ורבנן אמרי שתיהן שוות כדי שיהיו מציצות מזו לזו:

[6] Tract *Taanith*, *initio* (Geiger, p. 80); Bereshith Rabbah; Pocock, "Not. in Port. Mosis," p. 117 and p. 255, quoted by Sale, "Prelim Disc.," sect. iv.

[7] Sûrah l. 29; cf. Othioth de Rabbi Aqiba, viii. 1 (Geiger, p. 69).

spirits hearken behind a curtain [1] to GOD's decrees and counsels, &c. What Muḥammad relates of Hârût and Mârût, two angels [2] that sinned, is precisely what the Midrâsh Jalkût [3] relates of the angels Shamḥazai and 'Azâêl: and his assertion that, at the Deluge, "the oven boiled [4] up" is evidently an echo of the Rabbinical saying that "the [5] generation that lived in the time of the Flood were punished with hot water."

Judaic Influence.

It was not merely such traditions as these that Muḥammad borrowed from the Jewish tribes of Arabia. He learnt from them to believe in the mission of the Prophets of the Old Covenant, regarding whom he often speaks [6] in the Qur'ân. It is beyond dispute, moreover, that his belief in the One True GOD, though not directly due to his intercourse with the Jews, was nevertheless

[1] Sûrah lvii. 5; xxxvii. 7; xv. 17, 34; &c. Cf. Geiger, pp. 83, 84.

[2] Sûrah ii. 96, and Yaḥya's commentary, quoted by Sale *in loco.*

[3] Midrâsh Jalkût, cap. xliv., quoted by R. Geiger, p. 107, *op. cit.*

[4] Sûrah xi. 42 and xxiii. 27, وَفَارَ ٱلتَّنُّورُ.

[5] Rosh Hashanah, xvi. 2; Sanhedrin, 108: דור המבול ברותחין נדונו

[6] *E.g.*, in Sûrah xix. 42, sqq. See also his references to Aaron (ii. 249, &c.), Abraham (ii. 130 *et passim*), David (xxxiv. 10, &c.), Enoch (xix. 57, &c.), Elisha (vi. 86), Elijah (vi. 85), Ezra (ix. 30), Job, Jonah, Joseph, Joshua, Noah, Solomon, Zacharias.

much strengthened thereby; and we may believe that Muḥammad's iconoclasm owed something to the same influence. But the impress which Talmudic[1] Judaism as it then existed in Arabia has left on the religious system of Islâm is deeper still. The Jews at that time dwelling in the country seem to have attached much more practical importance, as they did in our Lord's day, to their own traditions than to the teachings of Holy Scripture. Their religion was to a great extent a religion of outward observances, of fasting and pilgrimage, of ceremonial rites. Muḥammad was very naturally led to deem these things of very great importance. The Pharisaism of the Jews thus became the parent of that which is now manifested in Islâm. Hence too sprang the idea, so deeply rooted among Muslims, that obedience to the letter of what they hold to be God's law will atone for sin, and that Heaven must be won by good works, such as fighting in order to spread Islâm with the sword, performing the pilgrimage to Mecca, and reciting the Qur'ân.

[1] The Talmud was completed about a century before Muḥammad's time, the Babylonian Gemara having been finished about A.D. 530, the Jerusalem Gemara about A.D. 430, and the Mishna about A.D. 220 (Gfrörer's "Jahrhundert des Heils," pp. 11-44). R. Geiger says (*op. cit.*, pp. 9-10): "Dass die jüdische Glaubensansicht eine völlig durchgebildete und ganz in das Leben aller Gemeindeglieder eingedrungene schon damals gewesen sei, lässt sowohl ihr Alter nicht bezweifeln als auch vorzüglich die schon zu stande gebrachte Beendigung des Talmuds."

Influence of Christianity on Muḥammad

§ 9. Islâm has often been called a Christian[1] heresy; it would be far more correct to term it a Jewish one. From orthodox Christianity and even from heretical sects Muḥammad borrowed comparatively little, but it would be not far from the truth to say that at one period[2] in his life he seemed inclined to accept Judaism as it then was and adapt it to the requirements of his countrymen. Islâm has well been designated[3] "the Religion of Revelation translated into Flesh," in order to show its servile and carnal character, even although this did not altogether prohibit its adoption of certain great truths of Revealed Religion, which, however, it degraded. Although in the Qur'ân Muḥammad refers to the Scriptures of the Old and of the New Testament no less than one hundred and thirty-one times,[4] yet in the whole book[5] there is only one direct quotation

[1] Carlyle, *e.g.*, says ("Heroes and Hero-Worship"—"Mahomet": Chapman and Hall's ed., p. 52), "Islâm is definable as a confused form of Christianity."

[2] He adopted this attitude towards Judaism at the outset of his career as a "Prophet," and retained it for twelve or thirteen years—up to the time of the Hijrah.

[3] Grau, "Ursprünge und Ziele unserer Kulturentwickelung," p. 138: "Keineswegs aber ward im Islam das Heidenthum vollständig überwunden; vielmehr ist er nur die ins Fleisch übersetzte Religion der Offenbarung, das Kind der Magd und nicht der Freien, wie Ismael."

[4] *Vide* each such passage quoted and commented on in Sir Wm. Muir's "The Coran," S.P.C.K.

[5] Sûrah xxi. 105: وَلَقَدْ كَتَبْنَا فِى ٱلزَّبُورِ مِنْ بَعْدِ ٱلذِّكْرِ أَنَّ

from the Old Testament and another less direct[1] from the New,[2] together with the assertion that Christ predicted the coming of a prophet called[3] Aḥmad. In this latter statement we have doubtless a misunderstanding of our Lord's words about the coming of the Paraclete[4] whom He promised to

ٱلْأَرْضَ يَرِثُهَا عِبَادِىَ ٱلصَّالِحُونَ. The quotation is from Ps. xxxvii. 11.

[1] Sûrah vii. 38: وَلَا يَدْخُلُونَ ٱلْجَنَّةَ حَتَّى يَلِجَ ٱلْجَمَلُ فِى سَمِّ ٱلْخِيَاطِ. Cf. Matt. xix. 24; Mk. x. 25; Luke xviii. 25. Geiger compares the Rabbinical saying, כמא דמעיל פילא בקפא דמחטא; but Muḥammad agrees with the N. T. in saying "camel" instead of "elephant."

[2] Rodwell ("Koran," pp. xviii., xix.) compares Deut. xxvi. 14, 17, 1 Pet. v. 2, with Sûrah xxiv. 50 and Sûrah x. 73; also John vii. 15 with the "*illiterate* Prophet"; &c. "The passages of this kind," he continues, "with which the Koran abounds, result from Muḥammad's general acquaintance with scriptural phraseology, partly through the popular legends, partly from personal intercourse with Jews and Christians."

[3] Sûrah lxi. 6: وَإِذْ قَالَ عِيسَى ٱبْنُ مَرْيَمَ يَا بَنِى إِسْرَآئِيلَ إِنِّى رَسُولُ ٱللّٰهِ إِلَيْكُمْ مُصَدِّقًا لِمَا بَيْنَ يَدَىَّ مِنَ ٱلتَّوْرَاةِ وَمُبَشِّرًا بِرَسُولٍ يَأْتِى مِنْ بَعْدِى ٱسْمُهُ أَحْمَدُ. Muḥammad no doubt meant to refer to John xvi. 7, sqq.

[4] The Paraclete—called فَرَاقْلِيط in Arabic—is supposed to be Muḥammad through a confusion between Παράκλητος and Περικλυτός. *Vide* Sayyid Aḥmad, "Essay on the Prophecies respecting Muḥammad," pp. 18, sqq.

His disciples. On the other hand, although Muḥammad frequently asserted that the Qur'ân was in accord with Holy Scripture, and even sent to confirm its teaching, yet his multitudinous blunders regarding even the simplest matters of Bible history show that he could never have read that volume.

The Jews[1] knew more of their Talmud than of the writings of the Prophets; the corrupt Eastern Churches of Muḥammad's day could teach him little that he cared to know, knowing little themselves of GOD's Holy Word. But there lingered among the many sects of Christians and Christian heretics then represented in Arabia, Syria, and Egypt, many marvellous tales connected with our Lord and His Apostles and the saints and martyrs of the past. Many of these are still to be found in the so-called Apocryphal Gospels, of which several are of considerable[2] antiquity.

Christian Legends: Apocryphal Gospels.

[1] R. Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. 10: "Gehörten nun auch die Juden dortiger Gegend zu den unwissendsten ....: so lebten doch so viele Sagen und so viele gesunde Kernsprüche im Munde des Volkes, die wohl in so trüben Zeiten und Gegenden auf sie einen Schein von Geistesreichthum werfen konnten und sie ehrbar in den Augen Andrer machten."

[2] *Vide* Dr. Giles's "Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti," vols. i. and ii.; also Cowper's "Apocryphal Gospels," Introduction, sect. iv.; and Tischendorf, "On the Origin and Use of the Apocryphal Gospels." Cowper says of the Protevangelium of James that it "was in no case written *before the second century*, and in its actual form it belongs to a later century" (p. xlix.). He also says that this Protevangelium

Mixing with men who loved to relate such tales, and being ignorant of the genuine books of the New Testament, Muḥammad adopted many silly legends and incorporated them in the Qur'ân. As examples of these may be cited that of the Seven Sleepers, whom he calls the[1] "Companions of the Cave." In the Qur'ân we find many fables about the birth and bringing up of the Virgin Mary,—how her mother vowed before her birth to consecrate her to GOD's[2] service, how she was reared under the charge of Zacharias[3] in the temple, where GOD sent angels[4] to supply her with food, and how lots were cast with rods[5] that it

Seven Sleepers.

The Virgin.

was "used by the compilers of the Pseudo-Matthew, the Nativity of Mary, the History of Joseph the Carpenter, and the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy" (p. lii.).

[1] Sûrah xviii. 8-26.

[2] Sûrah iii. 31; and cf. "Protevang Jacobi iv.": *Εἶπε δὲ Ἄννα, Ζῇ Κύριος ὁ Θεός μου, ἐὰν γεννήσω εἴτε ἄρρεν εἴτε θῆλυ, προσάξω αὐτὸ δῶρον Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ μου.* "Evang. de Nat. Mariae," cap. i.: "Voverunt tamen" (Joachim et Anna), "si forte Deus donaret eis sobolem, eam se Domini servitio mancipaturos, cuius rei gratia et templum Domini singulis per annum festis frequentare solebant." Pseudo-Matt. ii.: "Tu enim, Domine, nosti cor meum, quia ab initio coniugii mei hoc vovisse me confiteor, ut si tu, Domine, dedisses mihi filium aut filiam, obtulissem tibi in templo sancto tuo," &c. &c.

[3] Sûrah iii. 32: cf. Protev. Jac., cap. viii., sqq.

[4] Sûrah iii. 32: cf. Protev. Jac. viii.; Evang. de Nativ. Mariae, cap. vii.; Hist. Nativ. Mariae, cap. vi.; &c.

[5] Sûrah iii. 39: cf. Protev. Jac., cap. ix.; Evang. de Nativ. Mariae, capp. vii. and viii.; Hist. de Nativ. Mariae, cap. viii.; &c.

might be known whom GOD had appointed to have charge of her as she grew up to womanhood.

Again we are told how when on one occasion she was hungry, a date-palm [1] of itself offered its fruit for her acceptance. All these and many similar apocryphal legends are to be found in the "Protevangelium of James," the "Pseudo-Matthew," the "Gospel of the Nativity of Mary" and similar works, some of which are of very early [2] date, all of those we have mentioned having been composed long before Muḥammad's time.

Christ. So also with reference to Christ Himself, the accounts which Muḥammad gives of His birth and miracles are based upon those contained in the "Gospel of the Pseudo-Thomas," a very early [3] work, and also upon certain particulars now found recorded in the "Arabic Gospel of the Infancy,"

[1] Sûrah xix. 23, 25; and cf. Hist. Nativ. Mariae, cap. xx. (connected, however, with the flight into Egypt,—another of Muḥammad's blunders !).

[2] Tischendorf thinks (*op. cit.*) that the Protev. Jac. belongs to the middle of the second century. Cowper is uncertain whether it existed before the fourth century (Introd., p. lii.). The Pseudo-Matthew (otherwise called Hist. Nativ. Mariae) "may belong to the fifth century." (Cowper, p. 27; cf. Introd., p. liv.) The Gospel of the Nativity of Mary belongs to the fifth or sixth century (Cowper, Introd., p. lxii).

[3] Cowper (Introd., p. lxix.) says: "This book vies in antiquity with the Protevangelium, and claims to have originally appeared about the middle of the second century, if not before." It exists in varied forms, and much of it was incorporated in the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy.

though[1] *in its present form* the latter book is apparently more recent than the Qur'ân. In these apocryphal works as in the Qur'ân we are told that Jesus spoke when an infant in the cradle,[2] and that one of his miracles wrought when a child consisted in giving life to a bird[3] made of clay. The other miracles ascribed in the Qur'ân to our Lord, viz. the healing of blindness and leprosy and raising the dead to life,[4] may be those mentioned in these apocryphal books quite as easily as the authentic works of mercy recorded in the Gospels. But Muḥammad found in the Christian fables which were related to him many things which seemed contrary to what he believed to be the truth. Almost idolatrous reverence is shown to Mary[5] in

[1] The style of the Arabic is decidedly late, and not very good: the plural is used for the dual, &c. &c. It seems to me that Cowper is probably right in attributing it to a Coptic origin, though the present Arabic text is probably a translation from the Syriac, for Syriac words occur in it. *Vide* the Arabic text in Giles's "Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti," vol. i., pp. 12, sqq.

[2] Ar. Evang. Infant, cap. i.: أَنَّ يَسُوعَ تَكَلَّمَ وَهُوَ حِينَ كَانَ فِي ٱلْمَهْدِ وَقَالَ لِمَرْيَمَ أُمِّهِ إِنِّي أَنَا هُوَ يَسُوعُ ٱبْنُ ٱللهِ, &c.: cf. Sûrah xix. 30, 31, sqq., also Sûrah v. 109; Sûrah iii. 40, 41; &c.

[3] Pseudo-Thomas, cap. ii. (Giles, Cod. Apoc. N. T., vol. i., pp. 48, 49); Ev. Infant, cap. xxxvi. (Cod. Apoc. N.T., vol. i., pp. 25, 26). Sûrah iii. 43; Sûrah v. 110.

[4] Sûrah iii. 43; Sûrah v. 110; &c.

[5] *E.g.*, in the Evang. Infant; Hist. of Joseph the Carpenter; Gosp. of Nativ. of Mary; &c.

many of these uncanonical writings; and, in his zeal against this, Muḥammad rejected also the doctrine of the Divine Nature of Christ. Being unable, moreover, to comprehend the doctrines of the Atonement and of the Holy Trinity, he fancied that these were unauthorised additions to the religion of Jesus, and was thereby led not only to reject both but altogether to deny the fact of our Lord's death upon the cross. Whether Christ died at all, or ascended to Heaven without dying, does not seem clear from the[1] Qur'ân, and is a matter upon which Muslim commentators are divided in opinion. But in teaching his followers that Christ was not really crucified by the Jews but miraculously delivered from their hands, some one being substituted in His stead, Muḥammad was merely following in the footsteps[2] of Basilides, the Valentinians the Manicheans and other heretics of early times. The great Docetic doctrine upon which these sectaries based this idea, viz. their belief that Christ had not in reality but only in appearance taken our human nature upon Him, was not accepted by the "Prophet."

[Margin: ...ection of ...ertain ...ctrines.]

[Margin: Docetism.]

[1] *Vide* Sûrah iv. 156, where His *crucifixion* is denied; and Sûrah iii. 48, where His future death is predicted. *Vide* also Appendix A.

[2] Iren., "Adv. Haeres," lib. i. 23, says of Basilides that with regard to Christ he said: "Neque passum eum; et Simonem quemdam Cyrenaeum angariatum portasse crucem eius pro eo; et hunc secundum ignorantiam et errorem crucifixum, transfiguratum ab eo, uti putaretur ipse esse Jesus." Cf. also August., *Haeres*, iv., &c.

Here again we find the composite nature of the Religion of Islâm manifesting itself very clearly. Perhaps Muḥammad hoped to gain both Jews and Christians over to his creed in this way, the former being more likely to accept Christ as a great but purely human prophet if not charged with the murder of their Messiah: and the Christians would, Muḥammad trusted, be ready to rid themselves of what he regarded as blasphemous and irrational accretions to their original faith. Nothing but the most profound ignorance of the Bible and of the true nature of Christianity can account for the fact that Muḥammad evidently believed the Virgin to be one of the Persons[1] in the Holy Trinity. Had he, during his early years of earnestness in seeking for the truth, been brought into contact with a nobler creed than the debased parody of Christianity then exhibited in the Eastern world, Muḥammad might, by God's Providence, have been known to us, not as a false Prophet and an Antichrist, but as an earnest and successful preacher of that Gospel of Christ which is "the power[2] of God unto salvation to every one that believeth."

Influence of Zoroastrianism.

§ 10. The Religion of Zoroaster again has left its mark upon Islâm, owing to the not inconsiderable numbers of ideas which Muḥammad borrowed

v. 156. (See Al Baidhâwî, Yaḥya and Jalâlu'ddîn's comments,—who explain the Trinity as consisting of Father, Son, and Mary. *Vide* also Sûrah v. 76-79, and Jalâlu'ddîn's commentary; also v. 116.)

[2] Rom. i. 16.

from it. In his early manhood the Kings of Persia claimed and exercised [1] sovereign sway over many parts of Arabia. Their tales were very popular among the Arabs, and are spoken [2] of in the Qur'ân as exercising much influence over them. And along with the heroic legends of Îrân, it was natural that some of its religious tenets also should gain access to their minds. Much that he tells us about the Jinn [3] or Genii—beings made of subtle

[1] Especially over the kingdom of Ḥîrah in the north-east, and also over the Arabs of 'Irâq-i-'Arabî. *Vide* Abu'l Fidâ, "Hist. Ante-Islamica," Fleischer's ed., p. 126. The Persians had also in Muḥammad's time succeeded the Abyssinians in the sovereignty of Yaman (Ibn Isḥâq, quoted by Koelle, "Moḥammed," p. 11).

[2] Sûrah xxvii. 70; *Vide* also Ibn Hishâm, *Sîratu'r Rasûl*, p. 124, Egypt. ed., pt. i.

[3] Sûrahs vi. 100, 128; xv. 27; xxvi. 212; xli. 24, 29; &c. Much that is related of Solomon in the Qur'ân is almost identical with Persian legends about Yima Khshaèta (Avesta) or in modern Persian Jamshîd. These legends were current among the Arabs of his time, and were regarded by Muḥammad as true and (apparently) *as recorded in the inspired writings of the Jews!*

There is a curious old Persian book not long since discovered, written in Pahlavî in the Perso-Arabic character, but with an amplified translation in the Darî form of Persian. It is called the "Heavenly Dastûrs" (in the original, دَسَاتِيرِ آسْمَانِى). Every treatise in it is attributed to a different prophet, and the *second* sentence in each treatise runs thus: فه هيد همتاى هرهندة هرهشكر "In the Name of God the Merciful, the Gracious,"—the very formula used

fire and intermediate between angels and men—is clearly traceable to this source. The very word جنّى (*jinnî*) the Arabic name for such a being, is the Avestic (*jaini*), a wicked (female)[1] spirit. The *Ḥûr* حور or *houris* of the Muḥammadan Paradise are unmistakably identical with the ()[2] *Pairikas* of the Avesta (in Modern Persian *Perîs*), "female[3] genii endowed with seductive beauty, dwelling in the air and attaching themselves to the stars and to light." The Arabic

at the beginning of every Sûrah but one in the Qur'ân; in Arabic, بِسْمِ ٱللّٰهِ ٱلرَّحْمٰنِ ٱلرَّحِيمِ. The *first* clause in each treatise is هوزاميم فه مزدان هز هرمامس, identical with the Qur'ânic نَعُذُ بِاللّٰهِ الخ. Al Baidhâwî and Jalâlân (Comment. on Sûrah xxv.) tells us that the أَسَاطِير mentioned in Sûrahs xxv., xxvi. 70, xlvi. 16, lxviii. 15, was a book well known in Mecca before Muḥammad's time, and in which the doctrine of the Resurrection was taught. Is there any possibility of a connection between the دساتير and the اساطير? Ibn Hishâm (vol. i., p. 124) speaks of the influence which stories of "Rustam and Asfandiyâr and the kings of Persia" exercised in Muḥammad's time over the Arabs.

[1] The word occurs *e.g.* in Yasna x., 4, 2, 53. A great number of evil spirits of various kinds are mentioned in the Avesta, among which are *jainis*, *jahis*, *daèvas*, *drujes*, *nasus*, the *Yâtus*, &c.

[2] Yasna ix. 61; Yesht x. 26, 34; &c.

[3] C. de Harlez, "Manuel de la Langue de l'Avesta," *s.v.*

name for these beautiful damsels [1] too is of Persian origin, being derived from the Pahlavî *hûr*, Avestic *hvare* (𐬵𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬆), "brilliant," "the sun." [2] Though the Qur'ânic Paradise (اَلْجَنَّةُ) derives its name from the Hebrew Garden of Eden (גַּן־עֵדֶן), yet it is not unlike the Persian conception of (𐬬𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬱𐬙𐬋 𐬀𐬵𐬎) [3] *Vahis'tó Ahu*, "the perfect world." [4]

[1] Penrice derives حُورٌ pl. from a singular حَوْرَآءُ, f. of أَحْوَرُ, "black-eyed," from rt. حَوِرَ, a form of حَارَ. ("Dict. of the Ḳoran, s. 1). I prefer the derivation in the text.

[2] The idea of the existence of these celestial damsels is a very ancient one among the Âryans. The Hindûs of ancient times called them *Apsarasas*, and believed that they inhabited *Swarga* (Indra's heaven—the sky), and that they *used to transport thither the Kshatriyas or warriors who died in battle* (Monier Williams's ed. of the "Nalopâkhyânam," s.v. चर्चियाः). Manu says ("Dharmaśâstra," bk. vii., śl. 89) that warriors who die bravely in battle inherit Swarga immediately after death:—

आहवेषु मिथो ऽन्यो ऽन्यं जिघांसन्तो महीक्षितः ।
युध्यमानाः परं शक्त्या स्वर्गं यान्त्यपराङ्मुखाः ॥

So also in Nalop. ii., 17, 18, Indra says to Nala:—

धर्मज्ञाः पृथिवीपालास् त्यक्तजीवितयोधिनः ॥
शस्त्रेण निधनं काले ये गच्छन्त्यपराङ्मुखाः ।
अयं लोको ऽक्षयस् तेषां यथैव मम कामधुक् ॥

Compare this with the Muḥammadan idea of the reward of those who die in battle fighting for their faith.

[3] Fargand ii. 35, 36, &c.

[4] Are not the beautiful youths of paradise (the Ghilmân,

The Muḥammadan Angel of Death (مَلَكُ ٱلْمَوْتِ, also called عِزْرَائِيل), though known to them directly through Jewish fables, is indirectly borrowed from Persia, where he was known in Avestic times as (𐬬𐬍𐬛𐬁𐬙𐬏𐬱 or 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬋𐬬𐬍𐬜𐬋𐬙𐬏𐬱)[1] *Vîdâtus'* or *Astôvîdhôtus'*. To the same religion Muḥammad was indebted for his Road or Bridge[2] (ٱلصِّرَاط) over Hell, which the Ancient Persians called *Chînavat (in Mod. Persian* چینود). Many of the strange and absurd ideas found in more recent Muḥammadan works may be traced to the same source, as for example the theory that the earth is sevenfold or built in seven[3] storeys, one above the other. These seven storeys of the earth are the seven (𐬐𐬀𐬭𐬱𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬈 or 𐬐𐬀𐬭𐬱𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬈𐬥) *Karshvares*[4] of the Avesta, and to a great extent correspond and are certainly of common origin with the seven (द्वीपः) *dvîpas* of the Hindûs. It is remarkable as

(ٱلْغِلْمَان) who wait upon the blessed there (Sûrah lvi. 13) identical with the Gandharvas or celestial musicians of Indra's heaven?

[1] Yesht x. 93; Fargand v. 25, 31.

[2] Penrice ("Dict. of Koran," s.v.) says that صِرَاط comes from no verbal root in the Arabic language. It is just the form the Persian word would take when introduced into Arabic.

[3] 'Arâisu't Tijân, pp. 5-9; Qiṣaṣu'l Anbiyâ, pp. 4-6; &c.

[4] Yasna lxiv., Yesht x., &c.

showing the extent of the influence which Zoroastrianism had even before Muḥammad's time exercised upon Arabia, that the word for "the faith" or "Religion" most frequently used in the Qur'ân, (دين) *dîn*, is not a pure Arabic word at all but is the Avestic (ﻭ ﻣﻧﺮﻣﻧ) *daèna*, which is used[1] quite as technically in the early Zoroastrian Scriptures as its Arabicised form is in the Qur'ân. In fact, nearly all that Islâm teaches about the angels, the work and nature of evil spirits, and kindred subjects, is derived either directly from a Zoroastrian[2] or Magian source, or indirectly so

[1] Fargand ii. 1-3; Yesht xvi. i.; &c. The word in the Avesta means primarily *law, doctrine*. Ahura Mazda is represented as giving his *daèna* to Yima and afterwards to Zarathuštra (Zoroaster). Hence the Arabic meaning of the word = *Religion*. Harlez ("Man. de la Langue de l'Avesta," p. 351) derives *daèna* from the root *di* = Sansk. *dhi*, to see, to consider. The word in modern Persian is *dîn* (دين), and *den* in Armenian. The Arabic word *dîn* in the sense of *judgment* (Qur'ân, Sûrah i. 3) comes undoubtedly from the Semitic root דון, دَانَ, to judge, found in every Semitic tongue. In Syriac also the word ܕܝܢ occurs in this sense. But in the meaning *religion* the word *dîn* is clearly derived from the Avesta, since in no Semitic tongue does the root bear any such sense.

[2] Cf. also the five *ratus* or stated times of prayer among the Zoroastrians with those fixed by Islâm. The Sabaeans observed *seven* times of prayer daily, of which five corresponded with those of the Muslims, and the other two may possibly have given rise to the extra two times of prayer optionally observed by pious Muḥammadans.

through the medium of later Jewish legends, which were deeply coloured through the influence of Persian myths.

Thus nearly every leading doctrine of Islâm can be traced with perfect certainty to some Pre-Islâmic creed. Even in Muḥammad's lifetime accusations were brought against him of deriving the doctrines which he inculcated from various human teachers, as for instance Waraqah and Abdu'llâh ibn Sallâm. This he strenuously denied, asserting that all his teaching was given him by God Himself through the Angel Gabriel, and that his knowledge of the histories of the Prophets in particular was a manifest proof of his Divine mission and of the truth of his lofty claims.

Life and Character of Muḥammad.

§ 11. This brings us to deal very briefly with Muḥammad's life and character. His biography has been so well treated by Sir William Muir, Weil, Sprenger, and others in recent times that it will not be necessary for me to say much on the subject here. The earliest Arabic biographer of Muḥammad was Zuhrî, who died in A.H. 124. He derived his information in large measure from a relative of 'Âyishah named Urwa, but also from traditions handed down by the Companions of the "Prophet." Although Zuhrî's work is no longer extant, we possess large portions, if not the whole of another life of Muḥammad written by a disciple of his, Ibn Isḥâq (died A.H. 151), and edited with amplifications by Ibn Hishâm (died A.H. 213) under the title "Sîratu'r Rasûl." These early

Authorities.

works on the subject, though not in every respect satisfactory, are free from many of the legendary embellishments which find a place in later histories[1] of the "Prophet." There can be little doubt that Muḥammad was at one time earnest in his search for the truth, though there are indications which lead us to conclude that he was not devoid of the desire to serve Mammon as well as GOD by making the establishment of the worship of the One True GOD in Arabia a means to the attainment of political power for himself and temporal success and prosperity for his[2] nation. He was also liable, even from his boyhood, to hysteria and[3] cataleptic fits; and this fact may help to account for his sincerely believing, at least during the earlier years of his work as a Reformer, that he had celestial visitors. During most of the thirteen years that he

[1] Among other Lives of Muḥammad may be consulted Abu'l Fidâ's, which I have already quoted above, and that by Al Wâqidî. The tendency among recent Muḥammadan writers has been to deny that the latter book possesses any authority. Perhaps this is their best way of answering the works of Sir William Muir and Sprenger, who make great use of Al Wâqidî. I have, however, thought it best not to rely at all upon the latter, knowing that *Sunnî* Muḥammadans refuse to attach any credence to anything stated upon his authority. Ibnu'l Athîr's Life of Muḥammad is greatly relied upon by Sayyid Amîr 'Alî.

[2] See above, p. 14; Ibn Isḥâq, *Sîratu'l Rasûl*, pt. i., pp. 145, 146.

[3] Sprenger deals with this subject, and shows that while *epilepsy* does not meet the conditions of the case, *catalepsy* does so most exactly.

spent at Mecca between his first vision or "call" and the Hijrah, he seems to have been a conscientious though misguided religious reformer. But his anxiety to obtain worldly power led him even then on one occasion[1] to attempt to conciliate the Quraish by speaking favourably of their deities. And when Khadîjah died and he met with prosperity and success through the aid of his Medinite allies, the temptation to fabricate revelations for his own advantage proved too much for his honesty of purpose. Even at Mecca he had done this in order to win over the Jews to his side. But at Medina he seems to have cast off all shame; and the incidents connected with his marital[2] relations, more especially the story of his marriage with Zainab the wife of his adopted son Zaid, and his connexion with Mary the Coptic slave-girl, are sufficient proof of his unbridled licentiousness and of his daring impiety in venturing to ascribe to GOD Most High[3] the verses which he composed to sanction such conduct. The same may be said of the murders[4] which he authorized and the ruthless massacre of a Jewish tribe, the Bani[5] Quraidhah, at which he

Call

Fabricates Revelations.

[1] *V.* Lect. i., p. 11-13; Ibn Hishâm, vol. i., pp. 127, sqq.

[2] *Vide* Ibn Hishâm, last part, pp. 94, sqq.

[3] Sûrah xxxiii. 37-40 (and *v.* Muḥammadan commentator on the passage).

[4] *E.g.*, that of Ka'b (Ibn Hishâm, vol. ii., pp. 73, sqq.), and of 'Uqbah and An Nadhr (*ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 25).

[5] *Ibid* ii., pp. 148, sqq.

presided in person. If we are not to ascribe such conduct, and much else of the same kind, to shameless hypocrisy, or, as Sir W. Muir[1] does, to the direct inspiration of the Devil, we must at least, it seems to me, see in Muḥammad's career a fearful instance of judicial blindness, and a proof of the terrible results of acting from mixed motives and doing evil that good may come.

Muḥammad's Miracles.

Later legends current among the Muslims and firmly believed by most of them ascribe to Muḥammad the working of[2] miracles, many of them of an extraordinary character. It is commonly believed, through a misunderstanding of a passage in the Qur'ân, that he divided the Moon[3] into two parts. We are also gravely assured that when he was a boy, Gabriel opened his breast[4] and removed from it all error and defilement. In later life we are told that on one occasion, when his soldiers complained of thirst during the war of Hudaibia,[5] water sufficient for the needs of over 5,000 men flowed from Muḥammad's fingers. Once he caused a date-tree to grow from a camel's hump, and to bear fruit, which tasted sweet and luscious to all true

[1] "Life of Mahomet," vol. ii., pp. 90-96.

[2] *Vide* Mishkât, *Bâbu'l Mu'jizât* and *Bâbu'l Karâmât*, &c. &c.

[3] *Vide Rawzatu'l Aḥbab*, and Sûrah liv. 1.

[4] *Rawzat*, *Mishkât*, &c. See Koelle, "Mohammad," pp. 264 and 340.

[5] *Ibid.*: Koelle, pp. 436, sqq.

believers, but turned to stones in the mouths of those who believed not. He gave camels and other creatures, even pebbles and trees, the power of speaking to him. He healed leprosy and blindness, and once he cast out an evil spirit from a child by rubbing its chest and praying, when the spirit ran away in the shape of a puppy. Muḥammadan works are full of such legends as these. Yet in the Qur'ân itself Muḥammad, when asked to work miracles, plainly declared his inability to do so,[1] saying that he was sent as a warner and a preacher and that only. Again and again he asserted that the Qur'ân itself was a[2] miracle, the greatest that could be desired, and by its very beauty of composition and literary charms sufficient to prove his prophetic character and to establish his claims. Educated Muslims are coming more and more[3] at the present day to adopt the same line of argument, and to deny the truth of the many absurd marvels generally ascribed to him.

Compositic and Preser vation of th Qur'ân.

§ 12. We have already spoken of the main doctrines taught in the Qur'ân, and of the method in which the Angel Gabriel is said to have revealed it verse by verse to Muḥammad as occasion required. It is known to all of us that the whole volume is by Muslims said to have been written on the "Preserved Tablet" in Heaven, ages before the

[1] Sûrah vii. 183, 188, &c.

[2] Sûrah ii. 21; x. 38, 39; &c.

[3] Cf. the works of Sayyid Aḥmad and Sayyid Amîr Alî.

creation of the world. The literary excellence of the book is to a very great degree lost in translation, but there can be no doubt that it contains many strikingly beautiful and sublime passages. We must, however, give an account of its composition. Muḥammad's most intimate followers were, from very early in his life as a "Prophet," in the habit of writing down each verse as he recited it, and this they did on whatever kind of writing-tablet they happened to have at hand. The Sûrahs thus written down were committed to memory by hundreds of zealous believers, and recited when occasion served. All the Sûrahs were not, however, collected into one volume until about a year after Muḥammad's death, when, according to the celebrated Al Bukhârî, this was done at the command of the Khalîf Abû Bakr by Zaid ibn Thâbit one of the Anṣârs or Helpers of Muḥammad, a native of Medînah who had during the "Prophet's" lifetime acted as his amanuensis. The story runs[1] that 'Umr bin al Khaṭṭâb, noticing how many of those who could recite the different chapters of the Qur'ân from memory had perished at the battle of Al Yamâmah (A.H. 12), and fearing that, if such slaughter went on in other battles also, the Qur'ân would perish uncompiled, urged the Khalîf to give orders for the book to be "collected" and preserved. Zaid himself thus relates the circumstances under which he undertook the task:

[1] See the original in Mishkât, p. 185, sqq.

First Redaction under Abû Bakr.

"Abû Bakr said to me, 'Thou art a learned young man; we do not distrust thee, and thou wast wont to write down for the Apostle of God the Divine Revelation. Seek out the Qur'ân therefore and collect it.' If they had imposed upon me the duty of removing a mountain, it would not have weighed more heavily upon me than what he commanded me to do in the way of collecting the Qur'ân. I said, 'How will ye do a thing that the Apostle of God did not do?' 'Umr replied with an oath that it was best that it should be done. And Abû Bakr did not desist from urging me to collect it, until God enlightened my breast to perceive what 'Umr and Abû Bakr's own breast had made clear to the latter. Accordingly I searched out the whole of the Qur'ân from leafless palm-branches and from white stones and from the breasts of men, until I found the conclusion of Sûratu 'tTaubah (Sûrah IX. v. 129) with Abû Khuzaimah the Anṣârî. I found it not with any one else." When Zaid ibn Thâbit had compiled the whole Qur'ân in this manner and written down the Sûrahs separately, each apparently on a separate sheet, he handed over the whole collection to Abû Bakr, who kept them by him until his death. They were then entrusted to the charge of 'Umr, who guarded them as long as he lived. After his death they passed into the hands of Ḥafṣah his daughter.

Second Redaction under Uthmân

However satisfactory the work thus accomplished was, it did not prevent errors or at least variations from gradually creeping into the Qur'ân as recited

from memory by those who had heard it from the "Prophet's" lips. Abû Bakr did not publish the redaction which Zaid had made, and so it had no influence in preserving the purity and integrity of the text. Al Bukhârî tells us on the authority of Uns ibnu'l Mâlik that when the Khalîf 'Uthmân[1] was engaged in conquering Armenia and Âzarbîjân, Ḥudhaifah ibnu'l Yamân came to him and warned him of the danger to Islâm which had already in some degree arisen from the different ways of reciting the Qur'ân in vogue among different sections of the Muslims. "Ḥudhaifah said to 'Uthmân, 'O Commander of the Faithful, restrain this people before they differ among themselves about the Book as much as the Jews and the Christians do.' 'Uthmân sent to Ḥafṣah saying, 'Send us the sheets that we may have them copied into volumes, then we shall return them to thee.' Accordingly Ḥafṣah forwarded them to 'Uthmân. He directed Zaid ibn Thâbit and 'Abdu'llâh ibnu'l Zubair and Sa'îd ibnu'l 'Âṣ and 'Abdu'llâh ibnu'l Ḥârith bin Hishâm, and they copied them into the volumes. And 'Uthmân said to the company of the three Quraishites, 'Whenever ye differ, ye and Zaid ibn Thâbit, in reference to any part of the Qur'ân, then write it in the language of the Quraish, for it was revealed in their dialect.' And they did so until they had copied the sheets into the volumes. Then 'Uthmân returned the sheets to

[1] Mishkât, pp. 185, 186.

Ḥafṣah. And he[1] sent to every region a copy of what they had written down, and commanded with reference to every sheet and volume of the Qur'ân besides these that they should be burned." At least one verse which Zaid remembered having heard Muḥammad recite he missed when thus redacting the Qur'ân for the second time. He searched for it and at length found a man who could recite it, when he added it in its right place[2] to the Qur'ân as originally written down by him. The Qur'ân thus published by 'Uthmân is that from which our present copies come. There are marvellously few and insignificant varieties[3] of reading in the book, those which in early days had been introduced having been eliminated, as we have seen, by 'Uthmân, by the summary method of committing all varying copies to the flames. There can, however, be no doubt of Zaid's qualification for the important task twice committed to him, nor of the fidelity with which he discharged it, for he did not even eliminate those passages which reflect the "Prophet's"

[1] رد عثمان الصّحف الى حفصة وارسل الى كلّ افق بمُصْحَفٍ ممّا نسخوا وامر بما سِواه من القرآن فى كلّ صحيفة ومصحف ان يُحْرَق

[2] *Ibid.* This verse he placed in Sûratu'l Aḥzâb.

[3] There are, however, a few, but these mostly consist in the position of the dots which distinguish between ب ت, ى, and ن.

character in the most unfavourable light, nor try to reconcile with one another those that involve real or apparent contradictions.

Rule of Faith and Practice.

§ 13. It is usually believed by people in Europe that the Qur'ân is the sole and sufficient rule of faith and practice among the followers of Muḥammad. This is one among very many other erroneous ideas on the subject of Islâm which it is most important to set right. Muslim divines tell us that their rule of faith has as its basis the "four foundations of orthodoxy" as they are called, viz. (1) the Qur'ân; (2) the Traditions (*Aḥâdîth*); (3) *Ijmâ'* or the *consensus* of learned authorities; (4) *Qiyâs* or the method of induction. With reference to the two last, our limits prevent us from saying much, and of the Qur'ân itself we have already spoken. The Traditions are regarded by all Muslims as binding upon all true followers of the "Prophet," and they believe that the degree of inspiration and authority attaching to the genuine Traditions regarding Muḥammad's sayings and doings is precisely the same as that which should be attributed to the Gospels in their original purity, regarded as accounts of our Lord's life and words. Muḥammad's example is considered to be the ideal which all true Muslims should set before themselves, precisely in the same way as we Christians are taught to regard our Redeemer as our pattern. Hence the importance which the "Prophet" attached to the correct transmission of his saying and doings, and hence also the many

precise rules laid down by Muḥammadan divines for judging the value and authenticity of the multitudinous Traditions which have gradually sprung into existence. We mentioned in our first lecture the six collections of Traditions accepted by the Sunnî Muslims. These taken together are known as "the Six Correct" Books, and are styled the "Sunnah." They are accepted by the Wahhâbîs as well as by the orthodox Sunnîs. The Shî'ahs of Persia and India, though not willing to acknowledge the Traditions which are acceptable to their enemies the Sunnîs, yet have five collections of their own, which they reverence very highly. These are (1) the "*Kâfî*" of Abû Ja'far Muḥammad (A.H. 329); (2) the "*Man lâ yastahdhirahu'l Faqîh*" of Shaikh 'Alî (A.H. 381); (3) the Taḥzîb of Shaikh Abû Ja'far Muḥammad (A.H. 466); (4) the "*Istibṣâr*" of the same writer; and (5) the "*Nahju'l Balâghat*" of Sayyid Radhî (A.H. 406). Sayyid Aḥmad and the Neo-Muslims of his party in India, who are known as the *Naturâls* or "*Nêchurîs*" (*i.e.* followers of *Nature*), show a desire[1] to get rid of the traditions altogether; but in this respect they can no more be regarded as representatives of Muḥammadan Orthodoxy than certain divines of the most extreme section of the Broad Church party in England, or even such men

Shî'ah Authoritative Traditions.

Modern Reform Party.

[1] This is evident from the method in which Sayyid Aḥmad, in his work already quoted, deals with tradition. Sayyid Amîr 'Alî shows the same tendency still more strongly in his "Spirit of Islâm."

as Baur and De Wette in Germany, can be considered to represent the orthodox Christianity of all ages. All Muslims but the members of their own party openly style the "Nêchurîs" heretics and unbelievers.

Muḥammad and the Charge of Intolerance.

§ 14. Attempts have been made to acquit Muḥammad of the charge of intolerance, and of permitting Islâm to be spread by the sword. It is well known how Islâm was propagated by Muḥammad himself after his acceptation by the people of Medinah gave him the power to use more effectual arguments than words alone. Nor does history, whether written by Christians or by Muslims themselves, allow us to entertain any doubt as to the method adopted for the conversion of Syria and Palestine, of Armenia and Âzarbîjân, of Persia, of Egypt, of Spain, and even of European Turkey. The Turkish and Tâtâr tribes of Central Asia seem to be nearly the only nations that in the past embraced the Religion of Islâm without compulsion. If we examine the Qur'ân itself, we find three clearly marked stages in Muḥammad's teaching with reference to religious toleration towards those that differed from him. Before the Hijrah, it was impossible for him to persecute his opponents. But when his power increased we find

First Stage.

a remarkable change in this respect. The first step was to give his followers liberty to fight in their own[1] defence. Thus in Sûratu'l Ḥajj

[1] Cf. Ibn Hishâm, vol. i., p. 164.

(Sûrah XXII. 40, 41) we read, "It[1] is permitted unto those who fight because they are wronged . . . those who are expelled from their homes unjustly only because they say, 'Our Lord is God.'" But with success in battle the principles of the religion underwent a change. Accordingly in Sûratu'l Baqarah (Sûrah II. vv. 212 *sqq.*) we find Muḥammad saying, "War[2] is fated for you"; and again a few verses further on, "They will[3] ask concerning the month in which war is forbidden. Say thou, War in it is grievous; but turning any one away from God's way, and unbelief in Him and the Holy Mosque, and the expulsion of His people from it is more grievous in the sight of God, and leading astray is worse than slaying." The Muslims are here taught that they ought to fight rather than allow the Quraish to hinder them from going to the Ka'abah. A little later we reach the second stage, for in Sûratu'l Mâidah (Sûrah V. 27) we read, "Truly[4] the recompense of those who wage war

Second Stage.

[1] Sûrah xxii. 40, 41: أُذِنَ لِلَّذِينَ يُقَاتَلُونَ بِأَنَّهُمْ ظُلِمُوا .... الَّذِينَ أُخْرِجُوا مِنْ دِيَارِهِمْ بِغَيْرِ حَقٍّ إِلَّا أَنْ يَقُولُوا رَبُّنَا اللَّهُ

[2] Sûrah ii. 212: كُتِبَ عَلَيْكُمُ الْقِتَالُ.

[3] Sûrah ii. 214: يَسْأَلُونَكَ عَنِ الشَّهْرِ الْحَرَامِ قِتَالٍ فِيهِ قُلْ قِتَالٌ فِيهِ كَبِيرٌ وَصَدٌّ عَنْ سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ وَكُفْرٌ بِهِ وَالْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ وَإِخْرَاجُ أَهْلِهِ مِنْهُ أَكْبَرُ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ وَالْفِتْنَةُ أَكْبَرُ مِنَ الْقَتْلِ

[4] Sûrah v. 37: إِنَّمَا جَزَاءُ الَّذِينَ يُحَارِبُونَ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ وَيَسْعَوْنَ

against GOD and His Apostle and run after evil in the earth is that they be killed, or that they be crucified, or that their hands and their feet be cut off on opposite sides, or that they be banished from the land. That is their punishment in this world, and for them in the world to come there shall be great torture." This verse was written in the year 627 (A.H. 6), the year of the massacre of the Banî Quraidhah, and declares, it is said, the treatment to be meted out to idolaters, not to Jews or Christians. But the third and final stage is reached in Sûratu't Taubah[1] (Sûrah IX.), which was, we are told, the last Sûrah revealed to Muḥammad, and that only a few months before his death. And in this, the last Sûrah which fell from the lips of him who claimed to be the Apostle of GOD, what do we find? In it he enjoined that, after the expiration of the four sacred months of that year (A.H. 11), no agreement was to be kept with the Polytheists (vv. 1—4). "When the holy months shall be past," he says (v. 5), "then slay

Final Stage.

فِي ٱلْأَرْضِ فَسَادًا أَنْ يُقَتَّلُوا أَوْ يُصَلَّبُوا أَوْ تُقَطَّعَ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَأَرْجُلُهُمْ
مِنْ خِلَافٍ أَوْ يُنْفَوْا مِنَ ٱلْأَرْضِ ذٰلِكَ لَهُمْ خِزْيٌ فِي ٱلدُّنْيَا وَلَهُمْ
فِي ٱلْآخِرَةِ عَذَابٌ عَظِيمٌ

[1] Sûrah ix. 5: فَإِذَا ٱنْسَلَخَ ٱلْأَشْهُرُ ٱلْحُرُمُ فَٱقْتُلُوا ٱلْمُشْرِكِينَ
حَيْثُ وَجَدْتُمُوهُمْ وَخُذُوهُمْ وَٱحْصُرُوهُمْ وَٱقْعُدُوا لَهُمْ كُلَّ مَرْصَدٍ .
فَإِنْ تَابُوا وَأَقَامُوا ٱلصَّلٰوةَ وَآتَوُا ٱلزَّكٰوةَ فَخَلُّوا سَبِيلَهُمْ

the Polytheists wherever ye find them, and seize them and besiege them, and lie in ambush for them in every ambuscade." The only condition upon which they are to be spared is that of paying the legal alms and observing the fixed times of prayer and repenting, *i.e.* becoming Muslims (v. 5). The fate of the "People of the Book" was to be a little less severe, for concerning them the command is (v. 29), "Fight[1] ye against those who believe not in God nor in the last day, nor forbid what God and His Apostle have forbidden, nor profess the true religion, from among those who have been brought the Book" (*i.e.* the Bible), "until they give the tribute (*jizyah*) out of hand and be brought low." We cannot misunderstand such a command as this. Muḥammadans are commanded never to sheathe the sword until all who have not already embraced the Religion of Islâm either do so or are conquered and obliged to pay tribute.

Obligation to Persecute.

This obligation to persecute is still incumbent upon Muslims, and is faithfully observed even up to the present in every country where Muḥammadanism reigns supreme. The law of the land in Muḥammadan realms is still, and must ever be so long as the Qur'ân is revered, that any Muslim who

[1] Sûrah ix. 29: قَاتِلُوا ٱلَّذِينَ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ بِٱللّٰهِ وَلَا بِٱلْيَوْمِ ٱلْآخِرِ
وَلَا يُحَرِّمُونَ مَا حَرَّمَ ٱللّٰهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَلَا يَدِينُونَ دِينَ ٱلْحَقِّ مِنَ
ٱلَّذِينَ أُوتُوا ٱلْكِتَابَ حَتَّى يُعْطُوا ٱلْجِزْيَةَ عَنْ يَدٍ وَهُمْ صَاغِرُونَ

becomes converted to any other faith is *ipso facto* sentenced to death.[1] Attempts have in recent times been made in Turkey and Persia, owing to the pressure brought to bear upon the court by the representatives of various Christian countries, to give to all religions equal toleration, but as yet it has been found that this cannot be done, because of the conviction entertained by all true Muslims that such toleration is contrary to the express teaching and example of Muḥammad himself, and therefore repugnant to the will of the Most Merciful GOD.

Summary. § 15. The five sources of Islâm are therefore, as we have now seen,—(1) Pre-Islâmic beliefs among the Arabs; (2) Talmudic Judaism; (3) Heretical Christianity and apocryphal Christian traditions; (4) Zoroastrian ideas emanating from Persia; and (5) last but not least, Muḥammad's own character and pronounced personality. The latter had sufficient influence to mould all the other elements into a more or less harmonious whole, and to develop a system of religion which has for many ages exercised an unmeasured influence upon a very large and important section of the human race. The question whether that influence has been beneficial or otherwise, we must reserve for consideration in the concluding lecture of the present course.

[1] In accordance with Sûrah ii. 214, *fin.*, "Whoso apostatises from his religion, let him die for it, and he is an infidel."

LECTURE IV.

THE INFLUENCE OF ISLÂM: ISLÂM AND CHRISTIANITY.

Τὸ δυσσεβὲς γὰρ ἔργον
μετὰ μὲν πλείονα τίκτει, σφετέρᾳ δ' εἰκότα γέννᾳ.
ÆSCHYLUS, *Agam.* vv. 757–760.

هرآن که تخمِ بدی کِشت و چشمِ نیکی داشت
دِماغِ بیهُده پُخت و خیالِ باطل بست
(SA'DÎ, *Gulistân*, Bâb I., Ḥik. 10.)

LECTURE IV.

THE INFLUENCE OF ISLÂM—ISLÂM AND CHRISTIANITY

In considering the value of any system of religion and its claims to the allegiance of the human race, it is not enough to examine into its external evidences, if it has any, or to inquire about the beauty of its tenets or the loftiness of its philosophy. However much or however little of truth any religion may incorporate,—if its results (*when fairly carried into practice*) are bad, destructive to what is noblest in our common humanity, or productive of bigotry, intolerance and ignorance,—then it cannot be regarded as the revelation of the God of Love, of Justice and of Mercy. "The tree is known by its fruit." And in judging Islâm by its practical results and its effect on the character of its followers, we are doing it no injustice, but rather inquiring into one very important branch of its evidences.

We now therefore proceed to ask what kind of influence Islâm has exercised in the past and still exercises to-day on the lives of those who profess it. The question may be regarded from the point of view of family life, of public or political life, of

religious life, or even of intellectual life. Let us very briefly consider each of these varied aspects of the subject in due order.

Family Life.

§ 1. It is somewhat difficult to form a correct opinion of the position which woman held among the Pre-Islâmic Arabs. Muḥammadan stories tend in many instances to exaggerate the degradation of her status and the necessarily attendant low state of morality which prevailed in the "Times of Ignorance." It is certain that divorce and polygamy were sanctioned and extensively practised, that incestuous unions[1] were of very frequent occurrence, and that—at least among the lower classes—woman had few rights. She could not inherit her husband's property, but was herself inherited along with it by the nearest heir, even if he happened to be her own stepson. Yet on the other hand women of noble family not unfrequently held a high position; and there are indications of the existence of quite a chivalrous[2]

[1] Yet *vide* Ash Shahristânî's testimony (الملل والنحل, quoted by Abu'l Fidâ, Fleischer's ed., p. 180) to the effect that all such unions were held in abhorrence among them. He says: كانت الجاهليّة تفعل اشياء جاءت شريعة الاسلام بها ـ فكانوا لا ينكحون الامّهات والبنات وكان اقبح شىء عندهم الجمع بين الاختين وكانوا يعيبون المتزوّج بامراة ابيه ويسمّونه الضيزن

[2] This is shown, *e.g.*, in some of the poems of the *Mu'allaqât*, and in Arabic traditions preserved by Muslim historians.

spirit among some at least of the tribes. Muḥammad limited polygamy to a certain extent by [1] decreeing that no man but he himself should be allowed to have more than four undivorced wives living at the same time. But he permitted [2] divorce, though he is *said* to have disapproved of it, enjoining, however, upon the husband who divorced his wife for an insufficient cause, the repayment of a certain part of her dowry.[3] Concubinage, like polygamy and divorce, he sanctioned by uttering verses, which he said were the words of GOD Himself, and in which definite rules to regulate these matters were laid down. His example in such matters showed how thoroughly he approved of all these [4] evils. The Qur'ân not only recognizes these things, but it legalizes and sanctions them for all time. Among the poorer classes of the population of Muḥammadan lands even up to the present day, the wives are the slaves of their husband, while in the higher circles of society they are his playthings. The idea of woman being created by GOD to be man's helpmeet, the sharer of his joys and the partner of his sorrows, seems never to have entered

[1] Sûrah iv. 3.

[2] *Vide* Mishkât, *Bâbu'l khul' wa'ṭṭilâq*, pp. 285, sqq., and Sûrah ii., vv. 227-229. Note especially the abominable injunction in v. 230.

[3] *Vide* Sûrah iv. 3-28; Sûrah lxx. 29, 30; &c.

[4] Vide Freeman's remarks on the subject, "Hist. of the Saracens," p. 53.

Muḥammad's mind, though he *might* have learnt it from the Jews, and must have seen the principle exemplified among many of the Israelites of Arabia. Such a principle[1] is hostile to the genius of Islâm. In Muḥammadan lands even to the present time, wherever people endeavour to live in accordance with the laws of their "Prophet," each household is divided into two entirely different parts, the first consisting of the male members of the family, the second of the female. There is no common family life. The wife never eats with her husband, but either waits upon him at his meals, if the household is a poor one, or takes her food secluded in the *ḥaram*, while her husband in his own part of the house is attended upon by his slaves, if he is rich enough to afford it. In the case of princes and rich men the *ḥaram* is guarded by eunuchs. Each wife lives in a separate house and has an establishment of her own. In consequence of the expense attending this, polygamy is comparatively rare among Muslims in India and in some other countries; but divorce is of frequent occurrence. Concubinage is distinctly sanctioned by Islâm, and prevails in purely Muḥammadan lands to the

[1] Any impartial reader of the Traditions and of the Qur'ân will perceive this. The tone in which women are spoken of in Muḥammadan works is most repulsive. *E.g.*, owing probably to a tradition mentioned in the Mishkât (p. 261) in which the word عورة (=*pudendum*) is applied to woman, that Arabic word has been introduced into Urdû as the proper word for *woman* in general.

utmost extent possible. In Persia temporary[1] marriages, for a month, a week, or for even shorter periods, are sanctioned by the religious authorities and performed before them; and, though forbidden[2] by the Sunnîs, the same practice prevails very extensively at Mecca itself. It is quite impossible to depict the full horrors of which the Religion of Muḥammad thus approves,—to tell of the divisions in families, the jealousy and hatred between half-brothers, between two legal wives of the same husband,—the slanders, the scandals to which this unnatural system gives rise. Nor does such a very "liberal" moral[3] code prevent

[1] Called مُتْعَة in Arabic, صيغه in Persian.

[2] *Vide* Mishkât, p. 264.

[3] Utinam mihi ignoscas, lector benevole, dum documento demonstrem, quantum doctrina Christi ab Mohammedis de mulieribus disciplina distet. Quod ut luce clarius appareat, unum tantum ex evangelio sancto versum necesse est cum Arabum de Mohammede traditione conferam. In Matthaei Evangelii cap. v. versu 28, Christus, Ἐγὼ δὲ, ait, λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτῆς ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ. Auctores autem Moslemici (Mishkâtu'l Maṣâbîḥ, pag. 261) affirmant prophetam suum dixisse: ايما رجل راى إمراةً تعجبهُ فليقم الى اهلهِ فانّ معها مِثل الّذى معها, quod significat, Ἐπειδὰν δὲ βλέψῃ ἀνὴρ γυναῖκά τινα, ἢ ἀρέσῃ αὐτῷ, πορευέτω οὖν πρὸς γυναῖκα ἑαυτοῦ, διότι ἀληθῶς ἔστι μετ' αὐτῆς ὅ, τι ἂν ᾖ μετ' ἐκείνης. Cuius traditionis scriptor, qui et ipse Mohammedis assecla erat, loco iam citato narrat ipsum pseudoprophetam tempore quodam, muliere quadam pulcra conspecta, quum libidine accensus esset, hoc modo τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν satiasse, quam ob rem hanc tradidisse asseclis suis regulam observandam.

even worse evils; for the most unnatural vices and nameless crimes are of frequent occurrence in every Muḥammadan land. It is painful to speak of these things. Suffice it to say that Islâm has rendered, throughout a large portion of the world, the very conception of a high and pure family life impossible.

Political Life.

§ 2. The Muḥammadan view of political matters is that Church and State are in their very essence one. The sovereign must either be the "Vicegerent of the Apostle of God," or else a usurper. There is now no Khalîf, and all even among the Sunnîs are by no means prepared to grant the claim of the Sulṭân of Turkey to be his successor. The Shî'ahs, though rejecting all the orthodox Khalîfs, yet hold that the Imâms, descendants of 'Alî, were God's vicegerents. The last of these is said to be still living, though invisible to man; and therefore the Shâh of Persia is usurping the sovereign power which of right belongs to the Imâm alone. For obvious reasons, however, these views are not openly professed, yet they have their influence. The ruler must have absolute power, as God's representative: thus he is an arbitrary despot and the people his slaves. No race of hereditary nobility can properly be said to exist, possessed of power to stand between the king and the people. The laws are based upon the Qur'ân and the Traditions, or upon the opinions of learned divines founded thereupon by induction. Thus political reforms are almost

impossible, and must certainly be regarded as impious. The political system, which was perhaps to some degree suited to an Arab tribe in Muḥammad's time, thus becomes stereotyped into an unchangeable, nay, a Divinely-imposed yoke upon all Muslim states, and one that must last for all ages, or at least until the Crescent[1] fades before the Cross. Political freedom cannot even be desired by a pious Muslim. The tyranny of the Sulṭân is imitated by his representatives in every province, until at last countries like Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, or Turkey, once the homes of an advanced civilization, mighty in commerce, renowned for learning,—or again, like Palestine, worthy of being described as "flowing with milk and honey,"—are blighted and ruined, their people downtrodden and heartbroken, their fertility itself almost forgotten; tyranny and intolerance, ignorance and sloth, crime and superstition hang like a curse over all things and blast even the very face

[1] Although here and elsewhere in these lectures I have permitted myself the use of this expression, yet I must confess that the popular idea upon which it is based, *viz.*, that the Crescent is the religious emblem of Islâm, is not strictly correct. Muslims themselves express surprise and almost incredulity when told that we believe that the Crescent is the symbol of their faith. In reality, as they have more than once told me, the Crescent and Star are merely the "coat of arms," so to speak, of the Sulṭân of Turkey. But as *he* claims to take the place of the Khalîfah, the mistake is a natural one, and it is too late to change the English phrase now.

Religious Life.

of nature itself. Religion has become divorced from morality, it becomes a mere outward thing, a round of unmeaning rites and ceremonies, of prayers in an unknown tongue, of pilgrimages to the shrines of dead [1] men, a means of hindering progress, of degrading and not of elevating humanity, of separating man from and not of binding him to the GOD of Holiness, of Justice, and of Love.

Intellectual Life.

§ 3. It is claimed by some that, however true this may be with reference to political and religious life, yet Islâm has ever been on the side of learning and science. To the Arabs, we are told, we owe the preservation of Greek learning and philosophy during the Dark Ages. Draper,[2] and to a less degree Gibbon,[3] have extolled the exploits of Arabian scientists, the munificence of such royal patrons of art and science as Al Ma'mûn, the advanced civilization that reigned in the Muslim courts at Cordova and at Baghdâd, and contrasted

[1] In the case of the vast majority of Muslims everywhere, their religion in *practice* (as distinguished from *theory*) consists almost wholly in the worship of *pîrs* or saints. This may be accounted for in part by the fact that the fixed prayers in Arabic are unintelligible to most Muḥammadans, and also partly by the feeling, inculcated by the Qur'ân, that GOD is *not* our Father, and is separated from human nature by an unfathomable abyss. No mediator is provided by the theoretical religion, but human nature by saint-worship asserts its deep need of one.

[2] "Conflict between Religion and Science."

[3] "Decline and Fall," cap. 50.

all this marvellous picture with the squalor and ignorance that then brooded over the greater part of Christian Europe. And there is truth [1] in what they say, though their enthusiastic descriptions savour of poetic fancy rather than of plain and unvarnished fact. But certain considerations must occur to every thoughtful student of the question, which make him pause before attributing all these brilliant results to *Islâm and Islâm alone. No great civilization, no scientist of note, no renowned school of philosophy has ever arisen upon purely Muḥammadan ground.* The lands where Muslim culture reared itself most proudly were precisely those that had long been the seats of learning and civilization. Astronomy (or perhaps we might more correctly call it astrology) had reigned in Mesopotamia ages, nay, millennia, before Al Ma'mûn's time. Egypt had her learned men and her philosophers, Greece her sages, her physicians, and historians, long before their Arabian conquerors were even capable of learning from them something of what they had to teach. Galen lived before Avicenna [2] (Abû 'Alî Ḥusein Ibn Sînâ), Plato and Aristotle [3] before their Muslim

Indebtedness to Greeks, &c.

[1] *V.* Dozy, "Histoire des Maures en Espagne"; Bar Hebraeus, "Chron.," under Al Ma'mûn; &c. &c.

[2] Concerning whom *vide* Bar Hebraeus, "Chronicon," dyn. x., pp. 231-233.

[3] Syrian scholars taught their Arabian conquerors to value the writings of the Greek philosophers, and to the present day Aflâṭûn (Plato) and Arisṭû (Aristotle) are far better

imitators.[1] The Muslims disdained to study foreign languages, and were therefore dependent for their knowledge of Greek science and philosophy upon translations made for them by their Christian[2] subjects. Gibbon[3] confesses that in geometry the Arabs made no advance beyond what they learnt from Euclid, and points out that they themselves confess that they are indebted to the Greek Diophantus for even the science of Algebra, in spite of the Arabic name it bears. The "Arabic" numerals, as we still call them, were borrowed from the people of India. In Astronomy they did not dare to renounce the Ptolemaic theory, and never advanced a single step towards the discovery of the Solar System.[4]

Transient Glory of Arabic Learning not due to Islâm.

Nor were the transient glories of Arabic learning and Science in any sense[5] due to Islâm as a religion. On the contrary, orthodox Muḥammadanism has always in every land shown itself to

known by fame in all Muḥammadan lands than any of their Muslim imitators.

[1] Prof. Überweg in his "History of Philosophy" truly says that the whole of the philosophy of the Arabs was a form of Aristotelianism, to some degree tinged and mingled with ideas drawn from the Neo-Platonists.

[2] Renan, "Histoire Générale des Langues Sémitiques," vol. i., pp. 298, 378, 379.

[3] "Decline and Fall" (Chandos ed., pp. 127-129).

[4] Gibbon, *ibidem.*

[5] See on this subject Major Durie Osborne, "Islâm under the Khalifs of Bagdad," Pref., pp. v.-viii., and pp. 24-25, 135-6, 265-6, &c.

be essentially the foe of all forms of Progress. Its real attitude to all learning not in exact accord with the Qur'ân is clearly shown by the fate of the Alexandrian library, upon which Gibbon has in vain endeavoured to cast doubt. Abû'l Faraj, the Arabian historian, tells us that, on the conquest of Egypt by 'Amr Ibnu'l 'Âṣ (A.D. 640), John Philoponus the philosopher begged that this world-renowned library should be spared. 'Umr, the "Vicegerent of the Apostle of God," was consulted on the subject. "If these writings of the Greeks agree with the Book of God" (the Qur'ân), he replied, "they are useless and need not be preserved. If they disagree with it, they are pernicious and ought to be destroyed." The barbarous order was duly executed. Nor is this a solitary instance of the spirit which animated the recognized leaders of the Faithful, for in the Muḥammadan work entitled "Kashfu'ẓ Ẓunûn" we read[1] that when Sa'd ibn Abî Waqqâs conquered Persia, he wrote to ask this same Khalif what he ought to do with the works of the Persian philosophers which had fallen into his hands, suggesting that they should either be kept where they were in the libraries or sent to Mecca. But neither course met with the approval of the Commander of the Faithful, for 'Umr replied, "Cast them into the rivers: for if in these books there is guidance, then we have still better guidance in the Book of God. If, on the

'Umr and the Alexandrian Library.

'Umr and the Libraries of Persia.

[1] *Kashfu'ẓ Ẓunûn*, p. 341.

contrary, there is in them that which will lead us astray, then GOD protect us from them." In obedience to these commands Sa'd cast some of the volumes into the rivers and others into the fire, until they all perished.

'Abbâside Khalîfahs.

The period of the brief hey-day of Arabic learning coincided with that during which the House of 'Abbâs ruled at Baghdâd. The Khalîfs of this family hardly even professed to disguise their unbelief in Muḥammadanism. A philosophical party known as the Rationalists[1] ruled supreme,[2] and orthodox Islâm was almost entirely trodden down for a time. And therefore "An almost complete religious toleration prevailed;[3] political disabilities had ceased to exist; and Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians shared with the 'Faithful' the emoluments and responsibilities of public life. The Khalîfs invited to their court the eminent scholars of the Byzantine Empire.... The effects of this free life and intellectual activity are striking enough; but to credit them to the inspiring influence of Islâm is absurd. *Islâm during this brief period was virtually set aside; and*

Rationalism.

[1] *Al Mu'tazalah.*

[2] Sayyid Amîr 'Alî confesses this ("Spirit of Islâm"): "Distinguished scholars, prominent physicists, mathematicians, historians, all the world of intellect, in fact, including the Caliphs, belonged to the Mu'tazalite school" (p. 610; cf. pp. 496, 520, 571, 646, &c. &c.). He rightly compares this philosophical party to that of the Rationalists in Europe.

[3] Osborn, *op. cit.*, pp. 265-6.

when it regained its ascendency the greatness and prosperity of the 'Abbâsides withered like a flower severed from its root." Yet strangely enough there are not a few among us who attribute to Islâm the very intellectual and spiritual energies which were really arrayed against [1] orthodox Muḥammadanism, and which vanished in utter extinction [2] as soon as the latter regained the power it had lost. From that time to this no second period of learning and science has ever recurred in any Muḥammadan land. The Qur'ân is exalted, reason and freedom of thought cannot exist along with it, and so the latter are swept aside. The Muḥammadan empires have either entirely vanished, as in Spain, or are in a most decrepit state, like Turkey and Persia. They have long lost their repute for learning of whatever kind. Even in India it requires all the fostering care of the English Government to incite the Muslims to rival their long-oppressed Hindû fellow-countrymen in their use of our schools and colleges and in the avocations of public life. Islâm is the enemy

Revival of Islâm the Deathblow of Learning.

[1] Gibbon admits this (Chandos ed., p. 129): "The instinct of superstition was alarmed by the introduction even of the abstract sciences, and the more rigid doctors of the law condemned the rash and pernicious curiosity of Al Ma'mûn."

[2] What Sayyid Amîr 'Alî says on this subject is true: "A deathlike gloom settled upon Central Asia, which still hangs heavy and lowering over these unhappy countries" (*op. cit.*, p. 589).

of all true learning because it recognizes that, when the reason is enlightened and the conscience freed, Muḥammad can no longer in any true sense be held in reverence or maintain his proud claim to be the Seal of the Prophets, the Messenger of God.

Slavery.

§ 4. Slavery has existed in the Eastern world from the most remote antiquity. Arabia is no exception to this rule. Muḥammad did not introduce the evil, nay, he seems to have done something to mitigate it. He directed the Muslims to be kind to their slaves, to feed and clothe them properly, and praised those who on certain occasions manumitted them. All this we gladly acknowledge. But nevertheless he distinctly sanctioned slavery and regarded it as an institution which would continue[1] to exist among his followers. No word in the Qur'ân, not a sentence in any genuine Tradition, has ever seemed to his devoted followers to embody anything like a principle which would in the long run lead them to abolish slavery as inconsistent with the will of God. In this we see one of the immense differences between the spirit of Muḥammadanism and that of Christianity. Even as early as the reign of Justinian, the doctrine of the brotherhood of mankind and the universal Fatherhood of God had so influenced the stern conservatism of Roman law that in the *Institutes* slavery is defined to be

Sanctioned by Muḥammad.

Contrast with Spirit of Christianity.

[1] Cf., *e.g.*, Sûrah xxiv. 33.

something "contrary to nature."[1] But as yet no Muḥammadan legislator has shown the very slightest inclination to follow such an example. Nor is this to be marvelled at when we remember that Muḥammad himself had both male and female slaves. Servile concubinage he also sanctioned not only by precept but by example.[2] Let the slave-trade as it is to-day in Africa, the history of the Mamlûks, and the fearful traffic in Circassian and Georgian girls, witness how thoroughly slavery in some of its worst forms[3] accords with the Religion of Islâm. The effect of all this on the whole life of each Muslim nation, whether considered from a moral or a political aspect, is indescribably evil. One result has been to render it necessary to exclude women from attending the public services in the mosques, as they used to be permitted to do in Muḥammad's own days. Arabian women even before his time excelled in poetry and must have had an opportunity of acquiring some learning. Now, however, even the religious instruction given to Muslim women is limited in extent, and—unless

Concubinage.

Circassian Girls.

[1] Justiniani Institutiones, lib. i., tit. iii. 2: "Servitus est constitutio iuris gentium, qua quis dominio alieno *contra naturam* subicitur."

[2] This all Muḥammadan writers acknowledge. The story of Mary, Muḥammad's Coptic slave-girl, is well known.

[3] The capture or purchase of slave-girls as concubines is clearly sanctioned by such passages as Sûrah lxx. 30, Sûrah xxiv. 33, Sûrah xxxiii. 52, &c.

where foreign influences prevail, as among certain classes in Turkey,—they are rarely permitted to learn even to read. They are regarded as being by nature prone to vice, and as in fact quite unfitted to become the counsellors or companions of their husbands. A faith that thus degrades the gentler sex and fails altogether to revere the innate nobleness of feminine humanity and the dignity of wifehood[1] and motherhood is its own condemnation among all enlightened men, whatever their prejudices with regard to other points may be in its favour.

Position of Women.

Attitude of Islâm towards Christianity.

§ 5. We must now inquire what is the attitude of Muḥammadanism towards Christianity and the Canonical Scriptures. It has been asserted not long since that Muslims reverence the Bible, and that their religion may be regarded as a preparation for Christianity in Eastern lands.[2] In this statement there is just enough verisimilitude to make it readily accepted by those who are not well acquainted with the real facts of the case. It is true that Muḥammad never spoke or wrote a single word against the authority and inspiration of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. On the contrary, he not only acknowledged them to have been given by Divine inspiration, but also

[1] Throughout the Muslim world, to ask a Muḥammadan about his wife is considered the greatest possible rudeness, and as amounting to a gross and deliberate insult.

[2] By Canon Isaac Taylor, Dr. Blyden, &c.

asserted that the Qur'ân itself was given to bear testimony[1] to their truth, and to guard them from injury. There are one or two verses in the Qur'ân in which the Jews are accused of perverting the *meaning* of their Holy Books, but Sir W. Muir[2] has shown that these passages do not justify the statement current among Muslims that the text of the Scriptures has been tampered with. Although himself ignorant of Scripture, Muḥammad seems to have been so firmly convinced of its authority that he boldly appealed to it for testimony regarding his Divine mission. Yet on the other hand his teachings are in some instances diametrically opposed to Scriptural doctrine not only in minor details but also in the most important particulars. The Qur'ân denies the Trinity,[3] the Divine Sonship[4] of our Redeemer, His atoning[5] Death, and his Mediatorial Office. Muḥammad taught his followers[6] that Christ had prophesied of *his* coming when promising to the Apostles the gift of the Paraclete. The origin of this mistake was the confusion which existed in the

Opposed to Scriptural Doctrines.

[1] Cf. Sûrah ii. 38: يَابَنِى إِسْرَآئِلَ . . . . وَآمِنُوا بِمَا أَنْزَلْتُ مُصَدِّقًا لِمَا مَعَكُمْ. *Vide* also Sûrah v. 48-52, &c.

[2] *Vide* his "Coran" (S.P.C.K., "Non-Christian Religious Systems").

[3] *E.g.*, in Sûrah v. 7, Sûrah iv. 169.

[4] Sûrah xix. 31-36, Sûrah cxii. 3, 4, Sûrah v. 19, &c.

[5] Sûrah iv. 156.

[6] Sûrah lxi. 6.

Muḥammad the Παράκλητος

Arab mind between Παράκλητος[1] and περικλυτός, which latter word might perhaps be rendered by Aḥmad, the same name as Muḥammad. We must not, however, permit ourselves to imagine that the "Prophet" claimed to be the Holy Ghost—whom Muḥammadans identify with the Angel Gabriel,—or in fact anything more than a man chosen and sent on a Divine commission. Yet he did claim for himself superiority to all other Prophets, and it is fully in accordance with the spirit of his teaching that Muslims believe, as they do, that the Qur'ân has practically annulled all the Holy Books that preceded it. There is therefore, they hold, no necessity for studying the Holy Scriptures of either Jews or Christians. It is very difficult indeed to induce most Muḥammadans to study them at all, and any copies which fall into the hands of Muslim authorities are ruthlessly committed to the flames. Muḥammadanism claims to stand, in other respects, in the same position with regard to Christianity that the latter holds in reference to Judaism. This will show how absurd it is to regard Islâm as preparing the way for Christianity. It is not too much to say that, except indeed the evil lives of professing Christians, and perhaps the corruptions that have

Bible Annulled

[1] This word in its Syriac form, ܦܪܩܠܝܛܐ, was known to the Arabs of Muḥammad's time, and even now Muslim writers assert, on the strength of this passage in St. John's Gospel, that Muḥammad is the فارقليطا promised by Christ.

crept into the Churches of Greece[1] and Rome—Christianity has no greater obstacle to encounter in Eastern lands than Islâm. The lands where the latter holds sway are in fact the *only* portions of the world closed at present to the Gospel, and in which the profession of Christianity means death at the executioner's hands.[2]

No greater obstacle to Christianity than Islâm.

Professed reverence for all the Prophets.

The Muslims profess, in accordance with the teaching of the Qur'ân, to believe in and to reverence all the Prophets.[3] An attentive perusal of what Muḥammad taught with regard to the latter, however, will show how vague and inaccurate their notions regarding them really are. To supplement the very fragmentary information given by the Qur'ân on this subject, various works which profess to give a history of these messengers

[1] I am informed, on the authority of a Muḥammadan gentleman residing in Jerusalem, that the Turkish authorities, while punishing with death any Muslim who more than once attends a Protestant church, yet rather encourage their people to go to view the worship of the Greek and Roman Churches, "in order," as they say, "by letting them see the *idolatrous worship of Christians*, to make them firm in their own monotheistic faith."

[2] A Persian convert, known to myself personally, had a price put upon his head by the Shâh because of his having been baptised. Muslims justify the murder of a convert to Christianity by such texts as Sûrah ii. 214: مَنْ يَرْتَدِدْ مِنْكُمْ عَنْ دِينِهِ فَيَمُتْ وَهُوَ كَافِرٌ, "Whoso shall apostatise from his religion, let him die for it, and he is an infidel."

[3] Sûrah xlii. 11; ii. 172, 285; iv. 161, 135.

of GOD have been drawn up by Muslims. Among these are the *'Arâishu't Tîjân* in the Arabic language and the *Qiṣaṣu'l Anbiyâ* in Persian,[1] but

[1] As a specimen, I give in a very concise form the story of the prophet Idrîs (supposed to be Enoch), taken from the *Qiṣaṣu'l Anbiya*. Idris, we are told, was a learned and very pious man, versed in astrology and other sciences. One night the Angel of Death, 'Azraîl, visited him in disguise, and remained three days as his guest. When discovered, the angel asked permission to establish the most friendly relations with the prophet, whom he had meanwhile in vain attempted to lead into sin. Idrîs refused his friendship unless the angel enabled him to taste the bitterness of death and yet to live. Receiving GOD's command to do so, 'Azraîl slew Idrîs, and then succeeded, through prayer, in bringing him back to life. The closest intimacy was thereupon established between them. 'Azraîl showed the prophet the wicked suffering all the tortures of hell, at his request to see the terrible sight; and then, at another request, brought him near to the gates of Paradise, that he might thence view the bliss of the redeemed. Idrîs said, "O brother, I have tasted the bitterness of death, and I have seen hell. My liver is on fire! Permit me to enter Paradise and drink a draught of water." 'Azraîl gave him permission to do so, but only on receiving a solemn pledge from the prophet that he would come back to him. On entering the sacred precincts, Idrîs advanced to the tree Tûba' and left his sandals under it. He then viewed the whole region, and, faithful to his promise, returned to the angel, who was waiting his return outside the celestial gate. But when his vow was thus complied with, Idrîs decided to carry out a plan he had formed, by which he hoped to be enabled to remain for ever in Paradise, instead of returning to the earth. He therefore begged of the angel permission to enter the garden once more, in order to reclaim his sandals, which he had omitted to put on when coming out. On receiving per-

Ṯabarî and other historians relate many similar tales, as do many of the most learned commentators on the Qur'ân. The fact is that Muslims know practically nothing whatever about the Prophets except their names, and even about these their information is not always very reliable. Nor can we say that all such absurd legends about the Prophets as those popular among modern Muḥammadans at the present time are the inventions of ignorant men and form no part of the Religion of Islâm. Hardly any of them are more absurd than the legend of King Solomon and Queen Balqîs, and in fact the whole of their

Ignorance of their Writings and History.

mission, Idrîs re-entered Paradise; but when within he refused to come out, alleging that GOD had promised that those who entered Paradise should never go out again. Then "from the Glorious Throne came the words, 'O Angel of Death, leave Idris alone, for so have I fated it. Idrîs having tasted the bitterness of death, and having seen hell, shall now remain in Paradise.' 'Azrail said, 'Verily this Paradise is forbidden to the prophets until the Seal of the Prophets' (*i.e.* Muḥammad) 'shall have entered it.' The Voice replied, 'O Angel of Death, I do not grudge Paradise to My friends, but Muḥammad is the chief of Paradise.'" Thus the learned and pious Idrís managed to circumvent the Angel of Death, and by his fraud he succeeded in remaining in the enjoyment of eternal bliss. This is a fair specimen of the ideas which the generality of Muslims entertain about the prophets. What is very remarkable is that, rightly or wrongly, all these tales and legends are declared to rest upon the authority of Muḥammad himself, who is said to have related them to his friends. Some similarly veracious accounts of our Lord's death and ascension are detailed in Appendix A.

ideas about Solomon's history and magical powers, but these are related in the Qur'ân as undoubtedly true and part of the last and most perfect Revelation of GOD. To disbelieve in the lapwing that talked with Solomon, or in the Seven Sleepers and their dog, is to be an infidel, for *GOD has revealed* all these high and holy mysteries! It is easy to understand how opposed men who believe in these things are to the plain, unvarnished teaching of Holy Writ on such subjects, and how gladly they reject the scriptural in favour of the more marvellous accounts contained in their own books.

Solomon's Lapwing.

Comparison between leading Christian Doctrines and those of Islâm.

§ 6. We have already dealt at some length with some Muḥammadan doctrines. Let us now very briefly compare some of the most important of these with the corresponding doctrines of the Christian faith. (*α*) Christ Jesus tells us that GOD is our Heavenly *Father*, loving, holy, and just. Muḥammad[1] teaches his followers that GOD is our *Master*, arbitrary and despotic, favouring whom He will and leading astray whom He will. (*β*) The Bible informs us that Man was originally created

GOD.

[1] In Lect. II. I have quoted or referred at some length to many passages in the Qur'ân and other Muḥammadan works in support of the doctrines which in this summary I again mention as being held by Muslims. It is not necessary to quote them here again; nor will any reader acquainted with the Bible require me to refer to those passages in Holy Scripture upon which I base what I say in reference to the doctrines of Christianity.

in GOD's image, that he was once holy but is now fallen from his true nature; yet GOD loves him and has provided a way for his restoration to peace and to the full realization of his being the child of GOD. The Qur'ân on the other hand tells us that Man was created weak; that he is and always has been separated from his Creator by an unfathomable gulf; that his nature is just as it ever was and ever will be. Man is in no sense a *child* of GOD, but he is His *slave.* (γ) We Christians believe that Sin is the transgression of the eternal Moral Law which is a necessary part of the Divine Nature. Hence Sin is contrary to Man's original nature as a being made in GOD's image, and likeness. Christ tells His disciples that the most terrible of all possible kinds of doom is being left in a state of "eternal[1] sin," eternal alienation from and hostility to GOD and to all that is good and true, and noble, all that is pure and unselfish. Muslims on the contrary hold that Sin is the infringement of certain arbitrary rules laid down by GOD for Man to obey. These rules, however, have no *raison d'être* except the arbitrary *fiat* of Omnipotence, which can punish the transgressor. As such laws nevertheless, in most cases (if not in all), restrain men from indulging their appetites and *therefore* from true happiness, the Prophets and perhaps other favoured mortals are permitted, as a special sign of the

Sin.

[1] Mark iii. 29, where the best MSS. have ἔνοχός ἐστιν αἰωνίου ἁμαρτίας.

Divine favour which they enjoy, to infringe them without punishment. (δ) The Bible informs us that

Salvation.

Salvation consists in deliverance from the love and power of sin, and in restoration to our pristine nature and the bringing of our whole being into harmony with the will of GOD. According to Muḥammadan belief, Salvation means escape from the *punishment* of sin, while their mystics would probably explain the word as signifying deliverance from mental ignorance regarding GOD. (ε) We Christians hold that Redemption is to be obtained

Atonement.

freely through the Atonement wrought out for us by Christ Himself, and that it *may* be obtained by all alike. Muslims are not agreed *how* it may be gained, whether by a man's own righteous works or by Muhammad's intercession, while others think that Ḥasan and Ḥusain's deaths were of the nature of an atonement or propitiation for sin. The Muḥammadan doctrine of Reprobation,[1] an essential part of their fatalism, is necessarily opposed *in toto* to our belief that GOD willeth not the death of a sinner but rather that he should be converted and live, and that the Divine Love and Wisdom has therefore provided for all men who desire to avail themselves of it a way of salvation

[1] I am not ignorant that certain eminent Christian teachers in the past have taught this doctrine very emphatically, and that not a few Christians hold it even now. Nevertheless, I must regard it as distinctly contrary to many passages in the Bible (*e.g.*, John iii. 16), not to say to the whole scheme of salvation through Christ.

through Christ. (ζ) We Christians look forward to an eternity of happiness amid the many mansions of our Heavenly Father's home, where nothing that defiles can enter, but where we shall know even as we are known, and shall be renewed in the image of our Creator and our Redeemer. Muḥammad promised his followers a heaven of carnal delights and of sensual pleasures, where they would be unrestrained by any moral law, and would be encouraged to enjoy themselves to the full by the removal of even those unpleasant consequences which excess of any kind produces here on earth. In a word, in spite of the truths which may be found in it, Muḥammadanism as a religion is sensual in the extreme, and is utterly and hopelessly unfitted to quench the thirst for the knowledge of GOD which at the present time, just as it did even in old Homer's days, asserts itself in some degree in the breasts of all men worthy of the name.

Heaven.

Islâm a Sensual Religion.

§ 7. To a Christian, who views these matters not from the standpoint of modern theories of religion and sceptical Hibbert lecturers but from that of the Word of GOD, it must be clear that, in endeavouring to form a right estimate of Islam as a religious system, the most important question we must ask is, 'What view does Islâm take of Christ?' Whether Muḥammadanism has many grand doctrines or not,—whether that system is in a position of enmity towards science or not,—whether in some mysterious way Islâm may or may

Muḥammadan view of Christ.

not be preparing the way for Christianity,—all such questions must be regarded as of quite secondary importance to this. If we believe that only through Christ can GOD the Father be properly known to us,—that only through Christ's atoning death can we hope for salvation,—that only through union with Him can we possess the true life which He came to give us,—then it must be plain that our judgment of the Muḥammadan religion must depend upon the question which our Divine Lord Himself propounded so many centuries ago, "What[1] think ye of Christ? whose son is He?" Muḥammad by his words and his deeds also has given us a very distinct answer, "neque cornutum neque dentatum," as Luther would say.[2] In a previous lecture we have noticed that Muḥammad acknowledged that Christ was a great Prophet, and also that His miraculous birth, His miracles, His ascension are recorded in the Qur'an. Moreover, particularly high titles are accorded to Him, and He is the only Prophet to whom Musalmâns apply the title أَلْمَعْصُوم, or "the Blameless." Yet Muḥammad claimed to be a far greater Prophet than Christ, and asserted that our Lord bore witness to him. Muḥammadan writers have invented marvellous legends about Muḥammad's birth, his miracles, his sayings and doings, and even his death, which are all in

Importance of the Question.

Christ a Great Prophet.

"The Blameless."

[1] Matt. xxii. 42.

[2] *Opp. Latt.*, Schmidt's Ed., vol. vi., p. 13.

imitation[1] of those of Christ Jesus as recorded in Holy Scripture, but the object of which is to exalt their Master far above Christ. If angels heralded the birth of Christ,—a host of angels was sent down to the earth to guard Âminah, Muḥammad's mother, from the eyes of demons. Did Magi come to worship our Lord during His infancy,—the King of Persia was struck with terror on the night of Muḥammad's birth, his palace tottered to its foundation and fourteen towers fell, and the sacred fires in the temples, which had burned for a thousand years, suddenly went out. Did a star appear in connexion with the advent of our Lord,—a great commotion among the stars was observed at the time of Muḥammad's birth, and they seemed about to fall to the earth. Christ's intercession was effectual, but Muḥammad is chosen at the last day by the suffrages of all the Prophets[2] to intercede for mankind. In these and countless other instances Muḥammad is represented as far eclipsing Christ. In fact Muḥammadan writers have purposely so depicted him that one cannot err in regarding the Muḥammad of tradition, the "Prophet" as now honoured by all Muslims, as a most unmistakable

Muhammad far greater.

[1] For proof of this, see the "Rawzatu'l Aḥbâb" and similar works. The whole of this subject is admirably dealt with by Dr. Koelle in his "Mohammed and Mohammed-anism," where an English version of many of the legends here referred to will be found.

[2] Mishkâtu'l Maṣâbîḥ.

An Anti-Christ.

Antichrist. The "Light[1] of Muḥammad" was the first of all created intelligences, and for his sake God created all things. As for our Lord and His Divine claims, Muḥammad, in one of the last Sûrahs which he composed, states his opinion of Him and them in these terrible but unmistakable words (Sûrah V., 19):—"Verily[2] they blaspheme who say, 'God is truly the Messiah, son of Mary.' Say thou, 'Then who would possess any right over God, should He wish to destroy the Messiah, son of Mary, and His Mother, and all that are in the earth?'" This is perhaps the latest utterance of Islâm on the great central truth of Christianity; and those of us who accept the teaching of our Lord and Master with regard to His own Nature must at once recognize how completely Islâm opposes itself to that grand truth of His Deity upon which the Redeemer founded His Church for time and for eternity, declaring that the Gates of Hades would not prevail against it.

Denial of Christ's Deity.

Summary.

§ 8. We have now learnt something of Islâm, of its strength and its weakness, its many truths or half-truths and its multitudinous falsehoods and

[1] نور محمّد : *vide, e.g., 'Arâishu'ttîjân* and *Qiṣaṣu'l Anbiyâ*, initio, &c.

[2] Sûrah v. 19: لَقَدْ كَفَرَ ٱلَّذِينَ قَالُوا إِنَّ ٱللّٰهَ هُوَ ٱلْمَسِيحُ ٱبْنُ مَرْيَمَ قُلْ فَمَنْ يَمْلِكُ مِنَ ٱللّٰهِ شَيْئًا إِنْ أَرَادَ أَنْ يُهْلِكَ ٱلْمَسِيحَ ٱبْنَ مَرْيَمَ وَأُمَّهُ وَمَنْ فِي ٱلْأَرْضِ جَمِيعًا

errors. We know its lofty claims and have considered how far History has confirmed them. The effect of Islâm upon the family, the state, and upon the human intellect, has been glanced at, and we have seen how that fell system of religion blasts all that is true and noble, all that is pure and elevated, in the nature of man and of woman alike. Islâm as a religion is not true, it has not come from GOD. It does not and cannot satisfy the needs of the human heart; it does not reveal GOD in His Divine Fatherhood, in His Love, His Justice and His Holiness. It does not show Man what his own original nature was, nor reveal to him what sin is and how to escape it. Islâm is an Anti-christian creed. It is opposed to all true progress, whether moral or intellectual, political or religious. This being the case, it is evident that Muḥammadanism cannot take the place of Christianity with advantage to any section of the human race. Muḥammad is in every way unfit to be the ideal of a single human being. To talk, as some do even in this nineteeth century, as if the Religion of the Prophet of Arabia was well suited to the Semites, or to the Mongol and Turkish races, or again to the Negro,—is merely to show oneself culpably ignorant at once of human nature, of Christian truth, and of Islâm itself. Such well-worn platitudes will never satisfy any one who has at heart the highest interests of his fellow-men, and still less will any true follower of Christ be beguiled thereby. We have a duty to Muslims, and

Our Duty to Muslims.

one which we cannot shirk without incurring serious responsibility. We must not be content to leave them alone in their darkness and bigotry. If we would, we cannot altogether do so, brought in contact with the great Muḥammadan world as we are at the present time. The Queen rules over 57,000,000 of them[1] in India; and our trade and political relations with Egypt, Zanzibar, Turkey and Persia, force upon us as Englishmen the question what attitude we should adopt with reference to their religion. We cannot favour it without being false to our own, for the two faiths are opposed to one another as light and darkness. Nor, if we wish to be neutral, will the Muslims permit us to be so. Many of them are most zealous for their creed; and we are aware that this present year has seen their missionaries making ready to land on[2] the shores of England, for the purpose of propagating their faith in our own land, and of summoning us benighted Christians from the darkness of the "Times of[3] Ignorance" to the full light of the Qur'ân. Just as at Rome in the first

[1] *Vide* Government of India Census Report for 1891.

[2] The latest news, however, is to the effect that, on learning what a *fiasco* the reported Muḥammadan movement in Liverpool was, the Muslim missionaries who were to have come to England have deferred their coming until they have prepared a new English version of the Qur'ân to bring with them (!!!)

[3] This is the phrase used by Muslims to denote the period in the history of any nation before its conversion to Islâm.

century, so now among ourselves there exist men, priding themselves on their enlightenment and liberality of sentiment, who are ready to call themselves now Agnostics, now Buddhists, and now Muḥammadans, as their prototypes worshipped Isis and Serapis, or followed Epicurus or Plato, according as the fashion of the day might lead. These men may reasonably be expected,—for a time at least,—if not to profess Islâm, at least to favour it as an opponent to Christianity—a thing which perhaps in reality constitutes the great charm of any new religious craze in their eyes. If we ask what our duty to Muslims is, our Divine Lord gives us a very clear answer: "Go ye[1] and make all nations disciples, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Christ died for them as much as for the heathen and for ourselves, and to us Christians is committed the ministry of reconciliation, the sacred duty of calling the followers of the Arabian Antichrist to the foot of the cross of the crucified Redeemer, Whose atoning death they deny and Whose Godhead they blaspheme.

Modern Antitype of Ancient Follies.

Our duty to Muḥammadans is clear; yet how little we Christians have done or are doing to bring them to Christ! Arabia, Afghânistan, Balûchistân can hardly as yet be said to have been even touched by Christian Missionary enterprise. In Persia the work is still in its infancy. Some

Carelessness on the part of Christians.

[1] Matt. xxviii. 19.

Christian Missions to Muslims.

noble missionaries have laboured in the past, and some are still toiling among the Muslims of Palestine, Turkey, Asia Minor, and Egypt. But how few their numbers and how lukewarm the support given them! What shall we say of Central Asia, or of the Muslims of the Malay Archipelago, of Africa, or of China? In India I think I am not far wrong in saying that the Church Missionary Society is the only Missionary body that has undertaken missions intended for the exclusive benefit of Muslims. But these have even from the beginning been fearfully undermanned and badly supported. As an example of this may be taken our Muḥammadan Mission in Bombay, where *one* European Missionary has 160,000 Muslims, speaking six distinct languages, to work among in that great city alone. More has been done in the Panjâb among the Muslims there, though hardly any *special* effort has been made for their benefit in that province, except towards the Afghân frontier. Compared with the amount of attention devoted to the matter, we may thank GOD that such great results have been obtained. Muḥammadanism has received many a severe defeat in India, and learned defenders of Islâm have in fact been driven to give up many of the positions [1] they erstwhile deemed impregnable

Comparatively great success of work among Muslims.

[1] *E.g.*, In India nowadays learned Muslims, in my experience, generally acknowledge that the Bible as it now exists is in its original form and is uncorrupted, whereas only a few years ago they violently contended against its genuineness.

and to fall back on a new line of defence. Yet, giving all due credit to the noble men, such as Dr. Pfander and Dr. French,[1] who have devoted their lives to the work of carrying the Gospel to those sunk in the darkness of Muḥammadanism, we must confess that as yet Christians have been very far from feeling their responsibility in this matter. Too many professing Christians still hold that it is *impossible* for a Muslim to be converted to Christianity. We are sometimes tempted,—perhaps uncharitably,—when we hear such faithless and ignorant statements, to think that the wish is father to the thought. People a few years ago used to speak of the Jews as never being in a single instance converted,—as incapable of conversion. This was true *until* an effort was made in GOD's strength: since then we know how many have been brought to Christ. The same is true, as we shall see, of the followers of Muḥammad. *Men* cannot convert Muslims, or Jews, or even nominal Christians: but He Who has promised to be with His messengers even to the end *can* and *does* turn the heart of many a Muḥammadan, wherever the Gospel is faithfully preached to them. It is not too much to say that if the Gospel of Christ be not the power of GOD unto salvation to the Muslims as well as to every other seeker after truth, then our faith is vain, and must be relegated to the vast chaos of effete religions and exploded superstitions. Thank GOD, those of us who have

[1] Died at Muscat, preaching the Gospel to the Muslims.

laboured among Muḥammadans know better than faithless critics that the Word of GOD is strong to pierce into the heart and conscience of the most bigoted Muslim and to lead even such men as 'Imâdu'ddîn and Ṣafdar 'Alî to bow to the dominion of the Truth which maketh free.

Method of Work.

§ 9. It may be interesting to know something of the method generally adopted of bringing the Gospel to bear on Muḥammadans. We endeavour to convince them of their sinfulness and weakness, their need of an atonement for sin, a Redeemer who can and will deliver them not only from its punishment, but also from its power. We invite them to search the Qur'ân and their Traditions and tell us what provision they find therein to satisfy their deep need. Needless to say, Islâm knows of no Atonement and no Saviour. Or again we point out the Qur'ân's testimony to the Bible, and induce them to study the Holy Books thus commended to all true Believers. A Muḥammadan[1] with whom I was thus reading St. John's Gospel, said to me, 'If a Muslim has read the Gospel for even three days,—although after that he may still fear to become a Christian, yet he will never again believe in Muḥammad.' We endeavour

A Muslim enquirer's testimony to Gospel.

[1] This man was a native of Tabrîz, a Turk by birth. Feeling deeply his need of a Saviour, he made a pilgrimage to Mecca, and there studied his own religion, but found it unable to give him peace. Almost in despair, he wandered on to Aden, and thence to Bombay, where, after many months' teaching, I was at last privileged to baptise him.

once again to get down to the grand truths of Islâm, to show how true these are,—how very much more true than Muḥammad ever suspected. We show how they were recognized by Jews and Christians ages before Muḥammad, and that Islâm has forgotten many similar truths and defaced those which it has retained. We induce them to get to know Christ's character and work and contrast it with those of the 'Prophet of Arabia.' Such a method never fails, if pursued in a loving and prayerful spirit, to produce an effect upon the heart and conscience of any thoughtful Muslim. All such do not embrace Christianity, but it is impossible for them entirely to reject the attraction which Christ Jesus exercises or to make Muḥammad their ideal and their hope. "Some men know God," said a Muslim friend of mine, who had knelt weeping with me to pray to God for light and peace,—"some men know God in a way that I do not, though I have long sought for Him. Pray to God for me that, if it be His will, I too some day may know Him."

"Pray to God for me."

§ 10. The reforming and other movements which have in the past at various times taken place, and are at the present also occurring, in the Muḥammadan world, are an evidence of the unsatisfying nature of Islâm as a religion. Of Muhammadan mysticism we have already briefly spoken. Sûfiism in its many forms, mostly Pantheistic in essence, rules in Persia to-day as well as in the hearts of not a few in India. The Wahhâbî

Reforming Movements among Muslims.

The Wahhâbis. movement at the beginning of the present century was an attempt to return to primitive Muḥammadanism, but it served to evince how many were discontented with the Faith in its present form. A great and growing sect in Persia,—that of the

The Bâbis. Bâbîs,—though adopting into its creed much that is absurd and objectionable, yet shows a great tendency in the direction of Christianity and a readiness in many cases to study the Gospels. Their zeal had often led them to die by martyrdom rather than return to the bosom of Islâm. The

Sayyid Aḥmad. followers of Sayyid Aḥmad in India, though leaning too much to a kind of Materialism, seem nevertheless determined to eliminate from their faith much that is superstitious, and to borrow from [1] Christianity without confessing it much that serves to ennoble their creed. Atheism is to be found in many quarters, utter unbelief in Muḥammad in others, orthodox Muḥammadanism mainly among the careless, the unthinking and the

Restlessness. ignorant. All this unsettlement and restlessness of mind, though painful enough in itself, is encouraging, inasmuch as it proves that men cannot for ever rest satisfied with Islâm, but must and will seek for something better. Christ is seeking them, though they know it not, and He will use and overrule all

[1] This is evident from the perusal of such a work as Sayyid Amîr 'Ali's "The Spirit of Islâm," in which anyone at all acquainted with the subject will at once perceive a great deal which is quite contrary to the teachings of orthodox Muḥammadanism.

this unrest to His own glory and their salvation, if we Christians are but willing to do our duty and obey His parting command.

Conversions from Islâm.

§ 11. Conversions from among Muslims are not few. In the Panjâb they may be numbered by hundreds, men taken from almost every position in life. In Turkey a congregation was gathered by Dr. Kœlle, but man after man vanished—murdered for his faith no doubt—and was never heard of more. I have myself been privileged to baptize Muslims of several different races,—one an Afghân, several Persians, one Turk and not a few natives of India. Among the fifteen native Christian clergy now working in connexion with the Church Missionary Society in the Panjâb, ten are converts from Islâm. Dr. Bruce and other missionaries in Persia and Palestine can tell of men who were brave enough, even with the sword hanging over their heads, to confess Christ in Muḥammadan lands. Besides this, every missionary in India knows of Muslim enquirers who have confessed their belief in Christ but are kept back from baptism by fear of persecution. These facts are true not with reference to one Society alone, but to every Christian Missionary Society that has, even to a very limited degree, striven to bring the light of the Gospel to the followers of Muḥammad. God has not left Himself without a witness among them, and all we need is to go forward boldly, prayerfully and trustfully to this grand and glorious branch of missionary work.

Turkey.

Bombay.

Panjâb.

Enquirers.

Future of Islâm.

§ 12. It is a rash thing to venture to predict the future of Islam, but it seems to me at least that the hopeful pictures which European enthusiasts have drawn of a reformed and purified Islâm co-existing with Christianity are merely imaginary. We may well believe that the progress of education and the leavening influence of Christianity will lead to the formation in the Muḥammadan world of more and more numerous reformed and non-orthodox sects. These, while still professing Islâm, will strive more and more to get rid of the Traditions and to eliminate many of the manifest absurdities of the popular creed. Many statements of the Qur'ân will be explained away and others mystically interpreted. The fall of the Religion will thus for many years be postponed, just as that of Hindûism has been by the Brahmo Samâj and its branches, and as Neo-Platonism infused a slowly-fading life for a time into the trembling limbs of Graeco-Roman Paganism in days of yore. The most earnest men will gradually draw nearer and nearer to Christianity, and the end will come gradually and almost imperceptibly, the darkness fading into twilight and the twilight vanishing in the full glory of the dawn of the Sun of Righteousness. Those Muslims who are unwilling to follow this path will find—as not a few even now do—that their Faith is opposed to their Reason, and will gradually lapse into unbelief and Atheism. But for all this the only cure lies, not in attempting to bolster up the decaying Faith of

Islâm, but in the full and free preaching of the Gospel of Christ.

Conclusion.

§ 13. In the days of our fathers once and again did the cry of Peter the Hermit and others like him resound throughout Europe, calling on all true Christians to go forth in their might and rescue the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem from the hands of the Infidels. History tells us how the summons awoke an electric thrill in every heart, and how noble and serf, gentle and simple, man and woman and even children, responded to the appeal, and went forth from home and country prepared to conquer or die in what they fondly regarded as an enterprise blessed of Heaven. We know how great an error this was, and how fearfully these Crusades failed. The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, and they that take the sword must perish with the sword. Yet we admire the zeal and devotion, however misdirected, which animated our crusading ancestors; and even at the present day our hearts are stirred within us by an enthusiasm nobler than is generally felt in this matter-of-fact age when we hear the recital of their prowess or see the monuments of the Crusaders in our Abbeys,—the cross on the shield and the crossed legs still testifying to their devotion to a noble cause. Yet in our own day and generation a grander call is sounding forth,—not that of a weak and mistaken though zealous man, but the voice of our Risen Lord Himself. He calls us to a nobler Crusade, a more glorious contest. It is

A grander Crusade in our own days.

still the old battle of the Cross against the Crescent, of Christianity against Islâm. Yet we are not now bidden to go forth with the weapons of slaughter and death in our hands to lay low mortal foes. But, led by our Risen Redeemer, we are called to march forward under His banner, wearing the panoply of GOD and wielding the Sword of the Spirit, to wrestle not with flesh and blood but with the world-rulers of this darkness. Nor do we go now, as did our fathers, to rescue from the defilement of Muslim hands the empty sepulchre of a dead Christ. Nay rather, our duty now is in GOD's might to deliver from the thraldom of sin and Satan those whose bodies were created to be living temples of GOD's Holy Spirit, and to bring them to drink freely of the fountain of the water of life eternal. GOD is opening land after land to us, and we are endeavouring to enter in, to bring the glad tidings of salvation through Christ to the Confucian of China and the Buddhist of Ceylon, to the Negro and the Hindû, to the Eskimo and the Red Indian. May GOD's richest blessing descend—as indeed it has descended—on all such work. But for the great Muḥammadan world,—for the lands where Job and the earliest patriarchs, where Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, served GOD,—where Moses talked with GOD face to face,—where the Redeemer of the world gave His life a ransom for many,—for Egypt and Arabia, for the Sûdân and Morocco, for Palestine and Syria, for Mesopotamia and Afghân-

New Lands opening to the Gospel.

But little effort yet for [illegible]ion Mu-hammadan world.

istân, for Turkistân and all Central Asia, for Persia, Asia Minor and Turkey,—how few are our efforts, how trifling our exertions, how limited the number of Christ's labourers! GOD grant that even these few Lectures, in spite of their feebleness and their many defects, may be used of Him to stir up in the hearts of some among us in Christian England something of the zeal and devotion of our Crusading forefathers, that many may offer themselves for service in this nobler Crusade. Then, wearing the Cross in our hearts and not only on our breasts, we shall go forth conquering and to conquer; and the Crescent shall soon fade before the glory of our returning Lord.

Christ must conquer.

..."Ὅταν αἴγλα διόσδοτος ἔλθῃ,
λαμπρὸν φέγγος ἔπεστιν ἀνδρῶν
καὶ μείλιχος αἰών."

(PINDAR, *Pythia*, viii. 96, *sqq.*)

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

MUḤAMMADAN ACCOUNTS OF CHRIST'S DEATH, ETC.

1. *'Arāisu't Tījân*, Ar. Ed. pp. 549, 550:—"The Jews agreed in deciding to kill Jesus. They gathered together unto Him that very day and began to ask Him questions. Then He said, 'O ye sinners of the Jews, verily GOD hateth you.' Therefore they hated Him for His speech with a mighty hatred, and rushed upon Him to slay Him. Then GOD Most High sent unto Him Gabriel, and he made Him enter a skylight; and he showed Him upon the roof, and GOD Most High took Him up through the window. Then the chief of the Jews commanded one of his companions, who was called Falṭiânus, to enter the skylight and slay Him. When Falṭiânus entered he did not see Jesus, and he therefore kept them waiting. Accordingly they fancied that he was fighting in the chamber. Then GOD cast upon him the appearance of Jesus, and consequently when he came out the Jews imagined that he was Jesus. They therefore slew him and crucified him."

2. *Ibidem*, p. 554:—Abû Ṣâliḥ Shu'aib bin Muḥammadi'l Baihaqî has informed us (with a chain of

authorities from Abû Ḥureirah upwards, who said) that the Apostle of GOD said : ". . . It will soon come to pass that the Son of Mary will send down to you a just command, and verily He descendeth to my people (followers) and my successors, and when ye see Him then know Him. For verily he is" (then follows an account of Christ's supposed personal appearance). "He shall descend between two sceptres . . . . Then He shall break in pieces the cross, and shall slay the hog, and shall impose the *jizyah*-tax, and shall cause wealth to abound . . . . And He shall fight with men for Islâm until He shall destroy in His time all faiths except Islâm, and there shall be *one* worship of GOD, the Lord of the Worlds. And in His time shall GOD destroy the Messiah of Error, the Liar Antichrist (Ad Dajjâl). And confidence shall be established to such a degree in the earth that the lions shall eat and drink with the camels, and the panthers with the oxen, and wolves with sheep, and children shall play with snakes, and one of them shall not hurt another. Then He shall continue upon earth forty years, and shall marry, and children shall be born to Him. After that He shall die, and the Muslims shall pray for blessings on Him. And they shall bury Him at Medina at 'Umr's side." Another form of the same tradition is given in the same chapter in these words : "When GOD shall cause Christ Jesus to descend, He shall live among this people (*i.e.* Muḥammadans — فِي هٰذِهِ ٱلْأُمَّةِ) as long as He shall live. Then He shall die in this my city (Medina), and shall be buried at the side of 'Umr's grave. Happy are Abû Bakr and 'Umr, for they shall rise between two prophets" (*i.e.* Jesus and Muḥammad).

3. *Qiṣaṣu'l Anbiyâ*, pp. 274, 275 :—"Jesus, with His

Apostles, went to the House of 'Ainu's Sulûk. The Jews besieged and stationed themselves round about the house. Immediately Gabriel came and split open the roof of the house. He took up Jesus and carried Him off to the fourth Heaven. GOD Most High gave Him the companionship of the angels, and took from Him all need for food and drink. The king of the Jews, Shuyûgh by name, who had entered the house with the intention of slaying Jesus, could not find Him when he sought Him. When some delay took place, the Jews went into the house. GOD Most High had changed Shuyûgh into the form of Jesus. The Jews fancied he was Jesus and smote him with the sword. Although he kept crying out 'I am Shuyûgh,' yet it was of no avail; but they said that Jesus had by magic turned Himself into the form of Shuyûgh. After killing Shuyûgh the Jews were seized with doubt, saying, 'If this is Shuyûgh, where is Jesus? if this is Jesus, what has become of Shuyûgh?' They did not know that Jesus had been carried off to the fourth Heaven .... It is recorded that when Dajjâl the Accursed comes forth and misleads and makes infidels of people, and the Imâm Mahdî with a number of Muslims shall be in Jerusalem, then Jesus shall come forth and wage war with Dajjâl and shall slay him, and shall invite his own followers to accept the Muḥammadan religion. Jesus will be of the Muḥammadan faith, and He will give quarter to every one who believes in Islâm, but He shall slay every one who does not believe in Islâm. From the east even to the west He shall subdue the whole world and make its people Musalmâns, and He shall show forth the strength of the Muḥammadan religion to such a degree that in the whole world there shall not remain a single Infidel, and the world shall be inhabited and

richly blessed. And He shall perfect justice so that the wolf and the elk shall drink water together, and He shall be wroth with the evildoers. Then, having in this way for forty years rendered the world inhabited, He also shall taste the bitterness of death and shall leave the world. Then the Musalmâns shall bury Him near the chamber[1] of Muḥammad the chosen."

4. Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, pp. 296, *sqq.* :—"The Jews took Christ and His Apostles prisoners on the evening before the Paschal feast, and shut them up together in a house, with the purpose of publicly executing Christ on the following morning But in the night GOD revealed to Him the message, 'Thou must through Me undergo death, but immediately afterwards Thou shalt be taken up to Me and freed from the power of the unbelievers.' Christ breathed out His spirit and remained three hours dead. The fourth hour the angel Gabriel appeared to Him and bore Him away through the window into Heaven without any one noticing it. An unbelieving Jew, however, who had slipped into the house in order to watch that Christ did not escape, became so like Him that the Apostles themselves mistook him for their Prophet. This man, as soon as the day broke, was fettered by the Jews and borne through the streets of Jerusalem. All the people cried out to him, 'Thou canst forsooth raise the dead to life, wherefore then shouldst thou not be able to burst thy fetters?' Then many of them pricked him with thorny switches, others spat in his face, until he came to the place of execution.

[1] This room, the place where 'Âyishah lived and in which Muḥammad died and was buried, is now united to the Mosque in Medina.

There he was crucified, since no one believed that he was not Christ.

"When, however, Mary was in danger of giving way to her grief at the shameful death of her supposed son, He appeared to her from Heaven and said to her, 'Grieve not for Me: GOD has taken Me up to Himself, and we shall be united again on the Resurrection Day. Comfort My disciples also and say to them that it is well with Me in Heaven, and that they must through their firmness in the faith win for themselves a place near Me. Once more, when the Last Day draws near, shall I be sent back to the earth; then I shall slay the false prophet Dajjâl and the wild boar, that make equal destruction upon earth, and things will attain to such a degree of peace and concord that lambs and hyænas shall feed beside one another like brothers. I shall then burn to ashes the Gospel which godless priests have falsified, along with the cross which they honour like an idol, and shall subject the whole earth to the doctrine of the Prophet Muḥammad, who shall be sent at a future time.'"

For other similar tales *vide* Sale's "Preliminary Discourse."

APPENDIX B.

THERE has recently appeared a very important book, entitled *The Spirit of Islâm*, by Sayyid Amîr 'Alî, which constitutes in itself a sign of the way in which orthodox Islâm is losing its hold on the minds of thoughtful Muslims who have come in contact with Western thought. The author professes (*Preface*) his hope that his book "may assist the Muslims of India to achieve their intellectual and moral regeneration,"

and may at the same time "help in the diffusion of Islâmic ideas in the West."

It is unnecessary to say anything here with reference to the readiness with which the author accepts modern Rationalistic theories regarding the origin of some of the leading doctrines of Christianity, and how decidedly he manifests his opposition to the truth of the Deity of our Lord, and other cardinal doctrines of the Bible. No one would expect to find him an authority upon such matters as these. But he claims to be received as such when he treats of Islâm. And yet any one at all acquainted with the Qur'ân and the Traditions (Aḥâdîth) may readily perceive that in reality the Sayyid represents orthodox Muḥammadanism as it actually exists and has existed from the "Prophet's" time to the present, about as fairly as Straus, Baur, De Wette, and others of the same school may be taken to represent the Christianity of the New Testament! Any Western student of Muḥammadanism who trusts to *The Spirit of Islâm* as exponent of Muslim belief will find himself wofully mistaken. A careful reader may observe this for himself by reading between the lines. A few examples, however, of the gulf which separates Amîr 'Alî and the modern "reform" party in India from Muḥammad's own teachings may be noted. The GOD of Muḥammad is the Almighty Creator. Amîr 'Alî repeatedly professes Pantheism, or quotes with special approval Pantheistic passages (*Introd.*, p. 664, &c.) Muḥammad professed to receive the Qur'ân directly from the Angel Gabriel by Divine inspiration, and taught that every word and letter was of Divine authority. Amîr 'Alî tells us that Muhammad taught an eclectic faith, and confesses that he borrowed from the Docetism of Christian heretics (pp. 56–58), from

Zeid the Ḥanîf (p. 80, *note*), from Zoroastrianism (pp. 387, 394), and that his teaching shows a gradual development (pp. 398–400). In this I quite agree with him; but no orthodox Muslim would consider this other than gross blasphemy.

The Sayyid has so far profited from Western thought that he is able to declare himself the foe of polygamy and slavery. But he demands too much from our credulity, or depends unduly on the crassness of our ignorance of the Qur'ân, when he ventures to tell us that *Muḥammad* agreed with him in all this. His attempt to explain Muḥammad's many marriages as being formed only from motives of the purest and most unselfish charity (p. 331, *sqq.*) is admirable as an example of able casuistry. The method in which he strives to rescue his master's memory from the stain of cruel and cowardly murder is ingenious in the extreme, if not ingenuous, but is by no means convincing to those who have even the very slightest acquaintance with Ibn Hishâm and Muḥammad's other Arabian biographers (p. 162, *sqq.*).

The Sayyid endeavours with great ability to show that the spirit of Islâm has ever been forward in the encouragement of learning and science. But he (quite unintentionally) refutes himself by confessing that *the very dynasties* (*e.g.* that of the Fâṭimides in Egypt, and the 'Abbâsides in Mesopotamia) *under which Muḥammadan* (so called) *learning flourished were devoted followers of the I'tizâl and similar schools of philosophy*, which he himself compares (and rightly) with the Rationalistic movement in Modern Europe (pp. 496, 520, 571, 610, *sqq.*, 646). "Distinguished scholars, prominent physicists, mathematicians, historians—all the world of intellect in fact, including the Caliphs, belonged to the Mu'tazaliṭe School" (p. 610).

A little farther on he says: "When Mutawakkil was raised to the throne, the Rationalists were the directing power of the State; they held the chief offices of trust; they were professors in colleges, superintendents of hospitals, directors of observatories; they were merchants; in fact, they represented the wisdom and wealth of the Empire; Rationalism was the dominating creed among the educated, the intellectual, and influential classes of the community" (p. 646). When these heretics lost their political power and orthodox Muḥammadanism (styled *Patristicism* by Amîr 'Alî) again asserted its authority, the short but brilliant period of intellectual growth and progress in Muslim lands swiftly passed away. It is unfair, therefore, to attribute to *Islâm* results which ensued from the cultivation of Aristotelian philosophy and Grecian science, and which disappeared for ever when the true Spirit of Islâm reasserted itself. The result of the latter in every Muḥammadan land has been what the author well states regarding one part of the Muslim world: "A death-like gloom settled upon Central Asia, which still hangs heavy and lowering over these unhappy countries" (p. 589).

APPENDIX C.

THE "TESTAMENT OF ABRAHAM" AND MUḤAMMADAN TRADITIONS.

IN the foregoing Lectures I have pointed out not a few instances in which the Muslims are deeply indebted to the later Jews for their traditional accounts of Heaven and Hell and of the Patriarchs and

Prophets of the Old Testament. It has also been shown that much of current Muḥammadan belief originated with the Zoroastrians; and that apocryphal books current among certain Christian sects are responsible for many other absurd legends.

An apocryphal work of very great interest in this connexion has recently been discovered and published[1] by the Cambridge University Press. It is entitled *The Testament of Abraham.* The Editor shows good reason to believe that the work was originally written in Egypt, that it was known to Origen, and that it was probably composed by a Jewish convert to Christianity in the second century or not later than the third. The book exists in two Greek recensions, and the language is much modernised, in not a few places showing forms now used in modern Romaic. It exists also in an Arabic version. After a very careful study of this apocryphal *Testament of Abraham* I am inclined to agree with him in his conclusions. The Egyptian origin of the work seems to be beyond dispute.

The number of points of agreement between this book and Muḥammadan traditions is so great that it must be due to something more than a fortuitous coincidence. Much that the *Testament* relates in connexion with Abraham is by Muḥammadan tradition referred to others, but the very fact that so many of the leading features of the tractate in question thus reappear, though in a confused and fragmentary form, leads me to imagine that the book was known to Muḥammad's early followers, if not to the

[1] *Texts and Studies*, vol. ii. No. 2: edited by J. Armitage Robinson, B.D.—this particular volume being due to the labours of Montague R. James and W. E. Barnes.

'Prophet' himself. The existence of an Arabic version renders this still more probable, though the style and language of the present Arabic version of the book are neither old nor good.[1] A few examples of the coincidences to which I have referred will enable the reader to form his own opinion on the matter.

1. The Archangel Michael, taking the place of the Angel of Death, comes in human form to Abraham to deliver GOD'S message, summoning him away from this world (*Test. Abr.* A. and B. i. ii.)

The Angel of Death came in human form on the same errand to the Prophet Idrîs (= Enoch), in Muḥammadan Tradition (*'Arâisu't Tîjân*, p. 79; *Qiṣaṣu'l Anbiyâ*, p. 29).

2. In each case the heavenly messenger was for a time unrecognised. Hospitality was offered, but the angel did not partake of it (*ibid.*), though according to the *Test. Abr.* he pretended to do so.

3. When the Angel delivered his message, Abraham refused to go with him (*Test. Abr.* pp. 85, 95, 98, 101).

So also when the Death-Angel was sent to Moses to tell him that his Lord called him to Himself, Moses refused to die. He even carried his refusal so far that he assaulted the Angel and struck out one of his eyes (*Mishkât*, p. 499. Bombay Arabic edition).

4. The Angel was instructed to use polite language to Abraham and endeavour to persuade him to obey the summons (*Test. Abr.* pp. 85, 96, 97, 117).

[1] The language of the Arabic version, in fact, has apparently been modernised to some extent, as have the present Greek texts.

So also in the case of Moses. When Muḥammad's time had come, the Angel was obliged to ask his permission to take his soul (*Mishkât*).

5. Abraham requests permission of the Angel to see God's works, Heaven and Hell and all the marvels of creation, before his death. This was accorded him (*Test. Abr.* 87, 112).

So also Idrîs asked the Angel to take him to behold Hell and Paradise, and this was done (*'Arâish*, p. 79; *Qiṣaṣ*, p. 30).

6. A special conveyance, entitled a cherubic chariot, was sent from Heaven to fetch Abraham, and this bore him to the place where he could see souls being dragged off to Hell or entering Paradise (*Test. Abr.* p. 87).

Muḥammad, when starting on the famous *Mi'râj* to visit the unseen world and to pass through the seven Heavens, was mounted on Al Burâq, a heavenly steed larger than an ass but smaller than a camel (*Mishkât*, pp. 519 *sqq.*)

7. Abraham was without sin (*Test. Abr.* p. 88).

So also are all the Prophets, according to the universal belief of Muslims.

8. Abraham, on entering 'the first gate of Heaven,' sees Adam weeping when he looks at the souls of his descendants entering the broad gate, and rejoicing when he sees others of them entering the narrow gate which leads to Paradise (*Test. Abr.* pp. 89, 90, 112, 123, 134).

When Muḥammad entered 'the gate of the first Heaven' he saw Adam sitting there and looking now on his left hand and now on his right. When he looked on his left hand he saw the spirits of those of his descendants who were doomed to hell-fire, and he wept bitterly. But when he looked to the right

and beheld those destined to eternal happiness in Paradise, he laughed and rejoiced (*Mishkât*, pp. 521 *sqq.*)

9. There are two Recording Angels ready to note each deed that a man does, good or bad (*Test. Abr.* p. 91).

The Qur'ân informs us that there are two Receivers (المتلقيان) or Recording Angels seated on each man's right and left hand respectively, to observe his every word and action and to record it (*Qur'ân*, Sûrah l. vv. 16, 17, 20).

10. Abraham sees two angels of terrible aspect dragging the souls before the Judge for trial (*Test. Abr.* p. 90).

The Qur'ân tells us that with every soul 'a driver and a witness' shall come before the Divine tribunal (Sûrah l. v. 20).

11. Abraham saw that at the Judgment every soul and its actions were weighed in an enormous balance (*Test. Abr.* p. 91). In case any soul's good deeds were equal when weighed to its evil ones, it was admitted to neither Heaven nor Hell, but was kept in a place midway between the two (*Test. Abr.* p. 114).

In the Qur'ân 'the Balance' is repeatedly mentioned (*e.g.* Sûrah xlii. 16; ci. 5, 6, etc.), and commentators tell us that it is held by the Archangel Gabriel. All things will be weighed in it on the Judgment Day. Its scales are large enough to contain both earth and heaven, and they are suspended one over Paradise and the other over hell-fire. If any man's balance is found *heavy* with good deeds he shall be admitted to Paradise, 'but he whose balance shall be *light*, his dwelling shall be the Abyss' (ci. 6). If any one's good works do not outweigh

his evil deeds, but exactly balance them, he is to be placed neither in Heaven nor in Hell, but in a place midway between them called *Al A'râf* (Sûrah vii. 44, 46). This agrees almost entirely with the traditions of the Jews and Zoroastrians, from the latter of whom it was doubtless originally borrowed.

12. *The Testament of Abraham* tells us that each man's work is tried by fire, and that if the fire burns up any man's work he is carried off to the place of torture by the Angel who presides over fire. (The origin of this idea was doubtless 1 Cor. iii. 13, *sqq.*, through a too literal interpretation of part of the clause and inattention to the *αὐτὸς σωθήσεται*).

The Qur'ân (Sûrah xix. vv. 71—73) tells us that all men must be cast into hell-fire, but that while the pious shall after a time be delivered, the ungodly shall remain there. Commentators explain that hell-fire will not hurt the just, and thus every man will be tested by fire.

13. When his hour for death had come, Abraham was bidden to kiss the Death-Angel's hand. He did so, his soul adhered to the hand, and was thus drawn forth from his body (*Test. Abr.* p. 103).

When the Angel of Death comes to a Muslim to summon him to return to his Lord, the Angel writes God's Name on his own hand and shows it to the believer. Thereupon, according to Muḥammadan tradition, the soul takes its leave from the body gladly and without any regret.

14. According to the Testament, the angels all assemble in Heaven at sunset to worship God (*Test. Abr.* p. 108).

The Muḥammadan account is that the Angels who watch over the Faithful at their prayers relieve guard at dawn and at sunset, and these are two

of the most acceptable times of worship (*Mishkât*, p. 54).

15. Enoch is described as *ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης* (*Test. Abr.* p. 115).

Muḥammadans say that Enoch (أَخْنُوخ Akhnûkh) received the name of Idrîs, by which he is more commonly known among them, because of the great extent of his learning and his study (دَرْس) of the books of Adam and Seth. 'Enoch was the first man who wrote with the pen' (*'Arâis*, p. 68).

16. The *Testament* tells us that Death appears in a terrible shape to the wicked, and in a charming aspect to the just.

Muslims believe the same. The *Maṣnavî* says:—

مرگِ هرکس ای پسر همرنگِ اوست .
پیشِ دشمن دشمن وبر دوست دوست

i.e. 'Every man's death is of the same colour as himself: to the enemy (of GOD, it appears) as an enemy, and to the friend (of GOD) as a friend' (*Lubb-i Libâb*, p. 236).

17. We are informed in the *Testament* that when the three Angels visited Abraham at Mamre (Gen. xviii. 7), the calf on which they had feasted revived after the meal and returned to its mother in joy for nourishment.

The Qur'ân informs us that on one occasion Abraham asked GOD how He would raise the dead, and that as a proof of the Resurrection GOD told him to take four birds, to divide them into fragments, to lay a piece of their flesh upon a number of separate hills, and then to call them. When this was done the birds

came back to life and flew swiftly to Abraham (*Qur'ân*, Sûrah ii. v. 262: *vide* also Jalâlu'ddîn's note).

The above are the principal coincidences that I have noticed between *The Testament of Abraham* and Muḥammadan traditions and beliefs. There are some minor points of agreement which it would take too long to notice in detail. It may be remarked, however, that many of the Muḥammadan fables which Muhammad (according to the Qur'ân and tradition) handed down to his followers have been traced, as in the present instance, to an Egyptian source. It is unlikely that Muḥammad ever read *The Testament of Abraham* or other apocryphal works which originated in Egypt. But it seems to me that a suggestion which Major Conder makes (in a note on my Lecture on 'Islâm, its Origin, its Strength, and its Weakness,' published in vol. xxv. of the *Journal of the Victoria Institute*), viz. that Muḥammad learnt many of these Egyptian legends *viva voce* from Mary the Copt, one of his concubines, is very likely to be correct. This removes the difficulty presented by the late character of the Arabic of the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy* and that of the Arabic version of *The Testament of Abraham*.

---

1. The Qur'ân (Sûrah xxi. 69 *sqq.*) relates how Abraham was cast into the fire by order of the King of Chaldaea, whom the commentators suppose to have been Nimrod. If a Muhammadan be asked what proof he has that this ever took place, he appeals to the Jews. The latter confirm the tale by referring to Gen. xi. 28, 31 and Gen. xv. 7. Jonathan Ben

Uzziel renders Gen. xi. 28 thus: 'And it came to pass, when Nimrod cast Abram into the furnace of fire because he did not worship his idols, that the fire was not permitted to injure him,' etc. And the same author renders Gen. xv. 7 thus: 'And He said to him, I am Jehovah, who took thee out of the furnace of fire of the Chaldaeans' (אֲנָא יְיָ דְאַפֵּיתָךְ מֵאַתּוּן נוּרָא דְכַשְׂדָּאֵי). The story thus rose from rendering *Ûr Kasdîm* '*fire* of the Chaldaeans' instead of taking it as a proper name; *uru* in Assyrian meaning 'city' (*cf.* Heb. עִיר), not 'fire' or 'light' (Heb. אוֹר).

2. Muḥammadan writers inform us that the earth is surrounded by a great chain of mountains named Qâf. They hold that this is referred to in the Qur'ân, where Sûrah l. begins with the letter ق standing alone. In the '*Arâisu't Tîjân* (p. 8) we read, 'GOD Most High created a great mountain from a single green emerald. The greenness (*sic*) of the sky is derived from it. It is called Mount Qâf. Then He surrounded the whole earth with it; and it is by this that GOD sware, saying (Sûrah l., 1), "Qâf, by the glorious Qur'ân!"' Even Muḥiyu'ddîn, the mystical commentator on the Qur'ân, in his note on this passage, speaks of Mt. Qâf as really existing. In the *Qiṣaṣu'l Anbiyâ* we read that 'Abdu'llâh bin Sallâm one day asked Muḥammad, 'What is above (or behind) the earth?' He said, 'Mt. Qâf.' The other inquired of what Mt. Qâf was made. Muḥammad said, 'Of green emerald; and the greenness of the sky is owing to it.' 'Thou hast spoken truly, O Apostle of GOD! What is the height of Mt. Qâf?'

He said, 'It is five hundred years' journey high.' The other asked, 'How far is it round?' He replied, 'Two thousand years' journey round' (*Qiṣaṣ*, p. 5).

I was for some time puzzled to find out the origin of this mountain and its peculiar name. I have now found it in a Rabbinical comment on Gen. i. 2. The explanation given there of the word תֹּהוּ (*thôhû*) is as follows: תהו קו ירוק שמקיף את כל העולם כולו שממנו יצא חשך, *i.e. Thôhû* is a *green line* (*qâv*) which girds the whole world, and from which darkness comes forth' (Hagîgâh, xi. 1). The word here translated 'line' is *qâv* in the Hebrew. Evidently the Jews found it difficult to understand the obsolete *thôhû*, and so the commentator erroneously explained it by the word *qâv, line*. The Arabs did not understand the latter word, but, learning that this *Qâv* surrounded the world, they imagined that it must be a range of mountains of a great height, bearing this name.

Non-Christian Religious Systems.

Fcap. 8vo., cloth boards, 2s. 6d. each.

Buddhism: Being a Sketch of the Life and Teachings of Gautama, the Buddha.
By T. W. RHYS DAVIDS. With Map.

Buddhism in China.
By the Rev. S. BEAL. With Map.

Christianity and Buddhism: a Comparison and a Contrast.
By the Rev. T. STERLING BERRY, D.D.

Confucianism and Taouism.
By Professor DOUGLAS, of the British Museum. With Map.

Hinduism.
By Sir MONIER WILLIAMS. With Map.

Islam and its Founder.
By J. W. H. STOBART. With Map.

Islam as a Missionary Religion.
By CHARLES R. HAINES (2s.).

The Coran: Its Composition and Teaching, and the Testimony it bears to the Holy Scriptures.
By Sir WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I.

The Heathen World and St. Paul.

This Series is intended to throw light upon the Writings and Labours of the Apostle of the Gentiles.

Fcap. 8vo., cloth boards, 2s. each.

St. Paul in Greece.
By the Rev. G. S. DAVIES. With Map.

St. Paul in Damascus and Arabia.
By the Rev. GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., Canon of Canterbury. With Map.

St. Paul at Rome.
By the late Very Rev. CHARLES MERIVALE, D.D., D.C.L., Dean of Ely. With Map.

St. Paul in Asia Minor and at the Syrian Antioch.
By the late Rev. E. H. PLUMPTRE, D.D. With Map.

Devotional Books.

"A Glad Service." By Lady HAMMICK, Author of "Hearts and Lives given to Christ." Post 8vo., cloth boards, 1s. 6d.

[*A series of lessons for girls.*]

Cheerful Christianity. Having to do with the Lesser Beauties and Blemishes of the Christian Life. By L. B. WALFORD. Printed in red and black. Post 8vo., cloth boards, 1s. 6d.

[*For devotional reading, &c.*]

The Gospel of Suffering. By Mrs. COLIN G. CAMPBELL, Author of "Bible Thoughts for Daily Life." Post 8vo., cloth boards, 1s.

[*Shows the significance of our Lord's teaching as to sorrow. For general use.*]

Our Own Book. Very plain reading for people in humble life. By the Rev. F. BOURDILLON, M.A., Author of "Bedside Readings," &c. Post 8vo., cloth boards, 1s.

[*A devotional work, in large type. For the poor.*]

Plain Words for Christ. By the late Rev. R. G. DUTTON. Being a series of Readings for Working Men. Post 8vo., 1s.

[*These readings have to do with very important subjects, which are dealt with in a simple and striking manner.*]

Spiritual Counsels; or, Helps and Hindrances to Holy Living. By the late Rev. R. G. DUTTON, M.A. Post 8vo., cloth boards, 1s.

[*Addresses to young men on points of spiritual interest.*]

Thoughts for Men and Women. The Lord's Prayer. By EMILY C. ORR. Post 8vo., 1s.

[*Simple and suggestive thoughts on the Lord's Prayer.*]

Thoughts for Working Days. Original and selected. By EMILY C. ORR. Post 8vo., 1s.

[*A series of daily readings for a month, in which the path of duty is marked out by selections from the writings of celebrated men.*]

The True Vine. By MRS. RUNDLE CHARLES. With border-lines in red. Post 8vo., cloth boards, 1s. 6d.

[*Thoughts on the Parable of the True Vine. For devotional use.*]

ANCIENT HISTORY FROM THE MONUMENTS.

[*This series of books is chiefly intended to illustrate the Sacred Scriptures by the results of recent Monumental researches in the East.*]

Fcap. 8vo., cloth boards, price 2s. each.

ASSYRIA, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE FALL OF NINEVEH.

By the late GEORGE SMITH, of the Department of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum.

BABYLONIA, THE HISTORY OF.

By the late GEORGE SMITH. Edited by the Rev. Professor SAYCE.

PERSIA, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE ARAB CONQUEST.

By the late W. S. W. VAUX, M.A., F.R.S. A New and Revised Edition, by the Rev. Professor A. H. SAYCE.

SINAI, FROM THE FOURTH EGYPTIAN DYNASTY TO THE PRESENT DAY.

By the late H. SPENCER PALMER. A New Edition, revised throughout by the Rev. Professor SAYCE.

LONDON:
NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, CHARING CROSS, W.C.;
43, QUEEN VICTORIA STREET, E.C.